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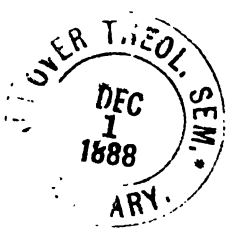
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THE GOSPELS.

THE word "gospel"* represents the Greek εὐαγγέλιον, which originally signified "the reward of good tidings," given to the messenger (Od. xiv. 152; 2 Sam. iv. 10, LXX.), and subsequently "good tidings." In the New Testament it has the specific meaning of "the good news of the kingdom" (Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 15). "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the *gospel* of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe the *gospel*." This speedily became a technical usage, and "the gospel" without further designation meant the gospel of the kingdom (Mark viii. 35; x. 29; xiii. 10, etc.). But it continued to be described according to its contents, its author, its medium. In respect of its contents it was spoken of as "the gospel of Christ" (Rom. i. 16, rec.; 2 Cor. ii. 12); "the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. i. 8); "of our salvation" (Eph. i. 13); and its contents are described in 1 Cor. xv. 1—7. In relation to its Author it was spoken of as "the gospel of God" (Rom. xv. 16,

* Skeat says Gospel = God, spell = narrative of God = life of Christ. And for the form he refers to gossip = god, sib. Others think it is the exact equivalent of εὐαγγέλιον, and is compounded of "good" and "spell."

etc.); and it was also designated according to the special messenger or mode of its delivery, and thus we find Paul speaking of "my gospel" (Rom. ii. 16).

Nowhere in the New Testament is the word "gospel" used to denote a book, but in the time of Justin Martyr* this use had come into vogue. He speaks, as we do, of "the gospels." But when the titles were given to our gospels, this usage had not yet come into vogue; for the word "gospel," as employed in these titles, has not the signification of a written book, but still denotes the one message of salvation. The unity of the theme is marked by the several gospels being named not "Matthew's Gospel," "Mark's Gospel," etc., but "The Gospel according to Matthew," "according to Mark." The form of the titles has led some critics to maintain that they are not intended to indicate authorship, but the authority guaranteeing what is related. But κατά ("according to") in this connection does denote authorship, as the lexicons prove. The "history of Herodotus" is ἡ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἱστορία.† It is true, the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" and "according to the Egyptians" does not mean the gospel written by the Hebrews, or by the Egyptians. But even though these titles may not mean (as Holtzmann suggests) that these gospels received their final form at the hands of those whose names are given, yet the reception of the gospel in a particular form—which apparently is all that the titles indicate—is a

* In his *Apol.*, i. 66, he speaks of the Apostles' "memoirs which are called gospels."

† Other instances are given by Holtzmann, p. 329; Bleek, etc.

meaning cognate to and certainly not exclusive of the meaning that those whose names appear in the title wrote down the particular form of the gospel given in the work. But apart from the lexical usage, it is obvious that if "according to" had been intended to indicate the ultimate authority or guarantor and not the writer, the second gospel would, in accordance with the belief of primitive times, have been styled "the Gospel according to Peter"; and the third, "the Gospel according to Paul."*

It is impossible to fix the date of those first attempts at gospels, of which Luke speaks in his prologue. But in any case they must have been early, and must with more or less directness and accuracy have rested on the authority of the Apostles. The first authentic account of what our Lord was, and said, and did, was given by those who had companied with Him from the first. Luke (i. 1) and probably all who wrote down any part of what they heard, understood the importance of having their information at first-hand and from eye-witnesses. The substantial accuracy of the Apostolic narration, and of its transcription in our gospels, may be tested by the manner in which the discourses, sayings, and conversations of our Lord are recorded. Even Renan cordially affirms that Matthew merits absolute confidence as a reporter of our Lord's words. In his opinion there is no mistaking the authenticity of this part of the gospel: "A divine force, if I may make bold to say so, underlines these words, detaches them from the context and enables the critic to

* Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 132.

recognise them without difficulty . . . The true words of Jesus, so to speak, discover themselves; when they are touched in this chaos of traditions of unequal authenticity, we feel them vibrate."* The justice of this deliverance can scarcely be disputed. In all literature there is nothing that rivals the Parables, the Sermon on the Mount, the brief sayings which the gospels record. They are stamped with an absolutely inimitable character of their own. But this self-evidencing accuracy of the gospels in recording the words of our Lord is a strong argument in favour of their accuracy in recording His actions and manner of life. For not only is it easier to recall with accuracy what we have seen than to repeat with exactness what we have heard; but there was, no doubt, a great demand for information regarding the life and ways of Christ. The Apostles would be required to give instances of His working miracles, to relate the closing scenes, to tell again and again how they knew He rose again. Proof that He was the Messiah could only be drawn from what He had actually been and done; and those parts of His life which seemed most conspicuously to reveal His kingly qualities were necessarily brought forward as often as the Apostles claimed for Him supremacy. But this fragmentary narration evoked by the requirements of casual audiences would on no occasion furnish a complete and detailed biography; although, when Churches were formed, the demand for more complete and systematic instruction would necessarily which increase. And this demand would very naturally be

† Oth.

* *Vie de Jesus*, xxxvii.-viii.

satisfied by written attempts at a full and consecutive account of the life of Christ. This agrees with what we learn from the prologue to Luke's Gospel, in which we are informed that "many"—say twelve or twenty—such attempts had been made, and that they were all founded upon the Apostolic preaching, or, to use Luke's own words, were written "even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Apparently the eye-witnesses themselves had not written down what they proclaimed; they felt their memory to be a sufficient guarantee of accuracy.* The date of these first attempts at gospel-writing must have been early; and it is a strong argument in favour of the early date and authenticity of the canonical gospels, that none of those which preceded them had so rooted themselves in popular esteem as to ensure their survival. Their disappearance and the exclusive acceptance of our four gospels can be accounted for only on the ground that they were understood to be by writers who had direct access to authoritative information.

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

The relation of the three Synoptic† Gospels to one another is one of the standing problems of criticism.

* It will be observed that the testing time for the memory of the Apostles was the period between the beginning and the close of Christ's ministry, before they began to relate to others what they had seen and heard.

† 'Synoptic'=giving a general view of the same series of events in the life of Christ, is not the happiest term to describe the first three gospels as distinguished from the fourth, but usage is paramount.

On examination these gospels are found to present minute and frequent correspondences, and also very striking differences. The problem is to discover a theory of their origin which will at once account for their likeness and unlikeness. Their likeness consists (1) in their giving the same general outline of the life of Jesus, and in filling up this outline with a series of incidents which are largely identical. This is all the more striking, because, while each Evangelist records nearly the same miracles as the others, they all speak of numberless unrecorded miracles. The extent of this coincidence in material has been presented in a tabular form.* The entire contents of the several gospels being represented by 100, the following proportions are obtained :—

	Peculiarities.	Coincidences.
Mark	7	93
Matthew	42	58
Luke	59	41
John	92	8

But coincidence is largely found not only in the material or substance, but (2) in the *form* in which the several incidents are presented, and even in the *language* used. As a classical instance of resemblance in form Holtzmann cites the interpolation of a parenthesis ("then saith He to the sick of the palsy") in the narrative of the healing of the paralytic, Matt. ix. 6; Mark ii. 10; Luke v. 24. The form of the narrative cannot, in this instance, be accidentally similar, but is such as prompts us to seek a cause of so striking a uniformity. In language the correspon-

* See Westcott's *Introd.*, p. 191.

dence is also remarkable, though rather on account of its character and significance than on account of its extent. For it never extends through passages of any length; and, unless in reported discourses of our Lord, rarely beyond a few words at a time. In narrating the same event the verbal coincidences of the gospels are continually interrupted by thoughts and words peculiar to each. And by far the larger portion of their verbal agreement occurs in passages in which the words of others, and especially of Jesus, are reported. The verbal coincidences of Matthew with Mark or Luke is less than a sixth part of the entire contents of Matthew; and of this sixth seven-eighths occur in the reporting of the words of others, and only one-eighth in the Evangelist's own narrative. In Mark the proportion is also about a sixth, and in Luke not more than a tenth; and of these coincidences four-fifths in Mark's case, and nineteen-twentieths in Luke's, occur in the recital of the words of others.* It has further been observed that in the recital of our Lord's words verbal coincidences between Matthew and Luke are frequent, but in the narrative coincidences "cannot be rated at more than one-hundredth part of the whole." †

History of Solution of Problem.

Attention has been called to these peculiarities of the gospels, and attempts have been made to account for them from the days when Augustine wrote his *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, and named Mark the

* See Norton, *Genuineness of Gospels*, i, 240.

† Westcott, 194.

pedisequus [footman, one who treads in the steps of another] *Matthæi.** Little was done to throw light on the origin of the gospels, until in 1782 Koppe published his refutation of Augustine's idea (*Marcus non epitomator Matthæi*). Various derivations of one gospel from the others were suggested by Büsching, Evanson, etc., till a new departure was taken by Lessing in 1785, who broached the theory that instead of being derived from one another, the three gospels were all derived from some previously existing document, and this document might likely enough be the Gospel of the Hebrews. This idea was developed by the genius of Eichhorn, who perceived that the document to which the similarities of the Synoptics were due, must have been not an Aramaic (though that was his first notion), but a Greek gospel. This "*Ur-evangelium*," or Original Gospel, was a fruitful idea; and in fertile minds it was multiplied into several sources now lost, or transformed into pre-existing "*Memorabilia*" (Paulus), "Narratives" (Schleiermacher), or "Corpuscles" (Lachmann). In 1818 another germinant suggestion was made by Gieseler (in his *Historisch-kritischer Versuch*), who endeavoured to show that the similarities of the Synoptics are fully accounted for by their common dependence on the oral gospel; that is, on the form which the preaching of Christ by the Apostles naturally took. This oral tradition at first satisfied all requirements; and, being continually repeated, it gradually became stereotyped, and was finally fixed in writing in forms

* Augustine's words are "Marcus eum subsecutus, tanquam pedisequus et breviator ejus videtur" (I. ii. 4.).

modified by the knowledge and purpose of each synoptist.*

Investigation has recently been conducted with greater approach to scientific exactness, but it has always run on these three lines, indicated respectively by Koppe, Lessing or Eichhorn, and Gieseler. The gospels are either dependent on one another, or on a previously existing document (or documents), or on the oral gospel. The first alternative may evidently be adjusted in various ways.† It may be held

1. That Matthew wrote first, that Mark used his gospel, and Luke used both. This was held by Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Bengel, Bolton, Townson, and most ingeniously by Hug. In later times and with characteristic modifications by Hilgenfeld.
2. Matthew, Luke, Mark. So Griesbach, Ammon, Saunier, Theile, Fritzsche, Gfrörer, De Wette, Bleek, Delitzsch; and substantially Baur, Schwegler, Köstlin, Keim.
3. Mark, Luke, Matthew. So Wilke, Weisse, Hitzig, Volkmar.
4. Mark, Matthew, Luke. So Storr, Ritschl, Lachmann, Ewald, Reuss, Holtzmann.
5. Luke, Mark, Matthew. Vogel, Heubner, Rodiger, Schneckenburger.
6. Luke, Matthew, Mark. Büsching, Evanson.

* For a fuller account see Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, 333—339; or his standard work *Die Synoptischen Evangelien.*

† In this list the title of a gospel is sometimes set down where, to be strictly accurate, some form of the gospel which preceded the canonical edition is meant.

But the view of Eichhorn has more and more asserted itself, and gradually won all critics to the belief that the similarities and dissimilarities of our gospels are best accounted for by the hypothesis that their authors had access to some common source either written or oral. A great crop of fancied original gospels has naturally sprung from the acceptance of this idea. The Tübingen school arrange the growth of our gospels thus: First there was the Gospel of the Hebrews, an Ebionite account of Jesus. Out of this by the addition of more liberal sentiments arose the Gospel of Matthew in a more or less complete form; also a first draft of Luke, which was anti-Ebionitic and strongly Pauline, and a second edition of a more conciliatory character. Lastly came Mark, which was a colourless compilation from Matthew and Luke.

The idea that the antecedent oral gospel is sufficient to account for all the facts, and explain the relationship of our gospels, has been largely accepted in this country, chiefly through the influence of Canon Westcott, in whose *Introduction* the hypothesis is ably and elaborately expounded and urged. It is of course admitted by all critics that oral tradition preceded all our gospels, that the story was told before it was written.* Mediately our synoptical gospels are undoubtedly derived from oral teaching, preaching, and

* Thus Holtzmann (*Einleitung*, 340): "At bottom all gospels rest on the oral tradition, etc.," and in his *Syn. Evang.*, p. 52, "It is nowadays an accepted position that the oral tradition must be considered the ultimate basis of the entire gospel-literature."

relation. Some of the narratives in Luke and in Mark may have been directly transferred to their pages from the lip of the narrator. Matthew's Gospel may contain what never elsewhere existed in writing. But this is one thing, and it is another to say that the peculiarities of the gospels, their agreement in general outline and their verbal coincidences, are explained by their derivation from a common oral tradition.

The valid objections urged against the hypothesis of a stereotyped oral gospel are these—

1. It has not been made out that the preaching of the Apostles was of such a kind as to furnish material for such biographical details as our gospels contain. They proclaimed, as Paul explicitly affirms (1 Cor. xv. 1), the great facts of Christ's coming, of His death and resurrection, but did not, so far as can be gathered, relate in detail His journeys in Galilee, His conversations with scribes and Pharisees, and so forth. Certainly our gospels contain both more and less than the preaching of the Apostles contained.

2. It is difficult to suppose that the Apostles when called upon to narrate particular incidents would restrict themselves to one stereotyped form, and would adhere even to such insignificant details as are cited in the story of the cure of the paralytic.

3. Even if it were credible that individual incidents were thus orally handed down in a fixed form of words, it is not to be believed that the order of the narrative would similarly be preserved. Dr. Salmon puts this in a quite convincing way: "A careful

examination brings out the fact that the likeness between the synoptic gospels is not confined to agreement in the way of telling separate stories, but extends also to the order of arranging them. Take, for instance, the agreement between Matthew and Mark as to the place in which they tell the death of John the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 1; Mark vi. 14). They relate that when Herod heard of the fame of Jesus he was perplexed who He must be, and said to his servants, "This is John whom I beheaded." And then, in order to explain this speech, the two evangelists go back in their narrative to relate the beheading of John. Their agreement in this deviation from the natural chronological order can scarcely be explained except by supposing either that one Evangelist copied from the other, or both from a common source." *

But supposing that our gospels depend on some precedent written gospel, can we form any idea of the character of this pristine document? Strenuous attempts to do so have been made by many scholars. Most strenuous of all is perhaps the attempt recently made by Dr. Abbott,† who passes his pen through all that is not common to the three synoptists, and offers us the residuum as the closest approximation we possess to the original narrative from which each of the three was derived. The "triple tradition" thus eliminated, and showing the matter common to the synoptics, has the appearance of notes or catchwords, abrupt, broken, elliptical. It forms neither

* *Introduction*, 164. Cf. also Meyer, *Introd. to Matthew*, and Holtzmann, *Syn. Ex.*, 50.

† *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. "Gospels."

a grammatically coherent narrative nor a complete gospel. But, Dr. Abbott asks, "Is it not possible that the condensed narrative which we can pick out of the three synoptic records represents the 'elliptical style' of the earliest gospel notes or memoirs, which needed to be 'expanded' before they could be used for the purposes of teaching, and which might naturally be expanded with various and somewhat divergent amplifications?" * Dr. Abbott seems to overstep the bounds of probability when he supposes that a gospel in this elliptical style ever existed; but, mechanical as his method is, he has done great service in contributing to the establishment of the critical conclusion that the original written gospel from which ours were largely drawn was a gospel closely resembling that of Mark, and containing the "triple tradition." The approximation of Mark to the original written gospel is one of the most generally accepted findings of modern criticism. It has been shown almost to demonstration by Holtzmann, and scholars like Sanday and Salmon agree in this particular with him. Salmon concludes his very instructive discussion with affirming his belief that "all drew from a common source, which however is represented with most verbal exactness in St. Mark's version." †

The two theories which may at present be said to hold the field are those of Holtzmann and Weiss. Holtzmann's opinion is that our gospels were preceded by two documents which are now lost as separate

* *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. xi.

† Dr. Bruce also (*Presb. Rev.*, Oct., 1884) holds that the original gospel was a book somewhat like Mark.

documents, (1) the original Mark (Ur-Marcus, which he denominates Quelle A), which fixed in writing a general outline and some scenes of our Lord's life; and (2) the Logia (Ur-Matthäus, Quelle Λ), or collection of our Lord's discourses compiled by Matthew. Our canonical Mark is an edition of (1) without any infusion of (2). Matthew and Luke availed themselves of both (1) and (2), and also of other written and oral sources. Weiss on the other hand fights hard for the priority of Matthew. In his view the original gospel was a Matthew which combined the Logia with a considerable number of incidents. Then came Mark, who combined with his recollections of Peter's preaching as much of Matthew's discourses as would harmonise with his plan. Next came our canonical Matthew dependent on the two preceding gospels; and finally Luke.

It will therefore be apparent that the multifarious and perplexed synoptical problem has gradually been concentrating itself on two points—the comparative priority of Matthew and Mark, and the existence and character of the Logia document.* In connection with the Logia, it is yet in dispute whether Mark as well as Matthew is indebted to it; whether it is to be found in its purest form in Matthew or in Luke; whether it was coloured by party feeling; whether it is itself a work of Matthew; what exactly is the significance of Papias' reference to the Logia compiled

* Holtzmann gives utterance to the general opinion of critics when he says: "All things considered, the Double-source Hypothesis offers the most probable solution of the Synoptic Problem."

by Matthew.* In comparing the priority of Mark with that of Matthew, it must be kept in view that even although it be demonstrated that Mark is a closer approximation to the original common source than Matthew, this does not prove that Mark's gospel is actually of an earlier date. And the critical question at present concerns not so much the date as the natural order of the gospels, their closeness to or remoteness from the primitive source. When these points are determined there will be hope of a permanent and satisfactory solution of the synoptical problem.

ST. MATTHEW.

Although not expressly ascribed to Matthew until towards the close of the second century, our first gospel was quoted and used in the sub-apostolic age† (A.D. 90—120), and was never ascribed to any one else than the Apostle whose name it bears. The name of Matthew (probably a contraction of Mattathias, *Gift of God, Theodore*), occurs in the four lists of the Apostles: Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13. He is usually identified with Levi, for what is in the first gospel (ix. 9) related of Matthew is in Mark (ii. 14) and Luke (v. 27) told of Levi. To change the name on some life-changing occasion was not uncommon, and Levi may have taken the name of Matthew at his call; or, as is rather implied in the

* Adherents of various opinions on these points are registered in Holtzmann, *Einl.*, 355.

† Used by the Gnostics Carpocrates and Cerinthus; quoted by Barrabas.

first gospel, he may have had it earlier, to distinguish him from the many others called Levi. Neither Mark nor Luke, however, intimates that he whose name appears in their Apostolic lists as Matthew is the same person as the Levi whose call they have related. It has been accepted as evidence of Matthew's humility that he adds to his name the opprobrious designation, "the publican," which is omitted by the other Evangelists. He also puts his own name after that of his companion, Thomas, though the others name him first. According to Mark (ii. 14) Levi was the son of Alphæus, and hence some have concluded that he was a brother of James the Little and a relative of Jesus.* When called to follow Christ, Matthew was a collector of customs in Capernaum, and although the same odium may not have attached to the publicans serving under Herod as to those who directly served and symbolized the Roman empire, the occupation was certainly in any case odious. His presence in the Apostolic circle was the permanent sign of the all-embracing openness of Christ's kingdom (Matt. ix. 11—13), while the requirements of his occupation may have trained his powers of observation, his use of the pen and of the Greek language, and have given him other qualifications of an Evangelist.† Of the Apostolic labours of Matthew nothing is certainly known. Tradition has sent him to all known and some unknown countries. He

* So Luther, "He was a relative of Jesus."

† Luther says he deserves Vespasian's epitaph, "The best Tax-gatherer," as he brought in to God and the Saviour human toll.

appears to have lived an ascetic life (ix. 15 is illustrated by this fact), sustaining himself on nuts, berries, and vegetables, and to have died a natural death.

But the unhesitating use of the first gospel by the early Church as the work of Matthew is somewhat complicated by the equally constant tradition that Matthew wrote in Hebrew.* Eusebius† quotes Papias, a Phrygian bishop, who died in A.D. 164, as giving a circumstantial account of the work of Matthew:— "Matthew," says Papias, "compiled the oracles (λόγια) in the Hebrew dialect, and each interpreted them as he was able." In this account he is followed by Irenæus, who adds that the gospel was composed while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome. But an examination of our gospel discloses that our Greek gospel is not a translation. This is proved, not by the plays of words (xxi. 41; vi. 16; xxiv. 30), nor by the interpretation of Hebrew words and sayings (i. 23; xxvii. 33, 46), for these a translator, anxious to retain significant words of the original, might have interpolated; but explanations of customs peculiar to Palestine (xxvii. 15; xxviii. 15; xxii. 23), and which seem to be a substantive part of the narrative, indicate that the gospel was intended to be read where Jewish customs were not known; and, above all, a comparison of the passages in which this gospel coincides with Mark and Luke discloses that its author was using a Greek source. That our gospel is not a translation

* That is, Aramaic; see *Studia Biblica.*

† *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 39.

but an original may be accepted as one of the ascertained conclusions of criticism.*

Is it possible to reconcile this conclusion with the constant tradition regarding the Aramaic original? A very common opinion is that Papias was mistaken. He may have seen or heard of a translation of this gospel into Aramaic, which he took for the original (so Luther and Tischendorf). Or there may have been neither original nor translation of this gospel in Aramaic, and the only Gospel of Matthew is the Greek gospel we now have. Professor Salmon puts the alternative rigorously:† "We must choose between the two hypotheses, a Greek original of St. Matthew, or a lost Hebrew original with a translation by an unknown author. Or rather, since our Greek gospel bears marks of not being a mere translation, we must choose between the hypotheses that we have in the Greek the gospel as written by Matthew himself, or the gospel as written by an unknown writer who used as his principal materials an Aramaic writing by St. Matthew which has now perished." Dr. Salmon himself adopts the former alternative; but Dr. Westcott‡ accepts the latter. He believes in a Hebrew original from the hand of Matthew, and a subsequent Greek edition, a representative rather than a translation of the original, by an unknown hand. Godet§ is more definite, and affirms that Papias

* "The Greek original of the first gospel is now absolutely assured," Holtzmann, 367. "Hardly any one now believes that this gospel was written in Hebrew" (Keim, i. 77).

† *Introd. to New Testament*, 202.

‡ *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 224.

§ Godet, *New Testament Studies*, p. 20.

meant that Matthew compiled in Aramaic the *Discourses* of the Lord, and that a little later some coadjutor of Matthew, who had helped him in evangelizing, translated these discourses into Greek and added material from the current tradition so as to complete an evangelical narrative. Nicholson,* whose researches have not received the attention they deserve, maintains that our gospel, though evidently not a translation of the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," is from the same hand, and that the hand of Matthew. Others, though they do not identify Matthew's Aramaic with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, accept Papias' statement that Matthew did write an Aramaic Scripture of some kind; and that as it attained an increasing circulation among those who were more familiar with Greek than with Aramaic, Matthew himself met this demand for a Greek gospel by composing what is now in our hands, and what from the second century has been cited under his name.

It is, however, satisfactory to find that even the critics who deny the Apostolic authorship of the first gospel admit that it attained its present form during the Apostolic age.† Of convincing evidence against the Apostolic authorship there is none. Some critics find it difficult to believe that Matthew could have spoken of himself in the terms used in this gospel (ix. 9). They think the expressions of time are too indefinite for an eye-witness to use, and that some remarkable events are omitted and some imperfectly

* *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (London: 1879).

† Thus Keim (i. 73) says: "The book and not only its source was written about the year A.D. 66."

described. Inaccuracies (xxvi. 17—19) and exaggerations of the miraculous (xxvii. 52, 53) are also charged against the Evangelist. The selection and grouping of material, and in general the artistic character of the gospel is thought to belong more to the second generation, the age of reflection, than to the first, the age of mere recipiency of fact. But this is precarious and unsubstantial criticism.* That the gospel was not written for some years after the events it describes is apparent from express allusion to the lapse of a considerable interval of time (xxvii. 8; xxviii. 15). On the other hand there are clear indications that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and even before the war broke out in the year 66. After this date Jerusalem would scarcely have been spoken of as "the holy city" (iv. 5; cf. v. 35, etc.). The predictions of Jesus in chap. xxiv. which were not fulfilled in the sense that lies on the surface, would scarcely have been set down without a word of explanation after that unexpected fulfilment. And the warning, "whoso readeth, let him understand," interjected by the Evangelist into the Lord's discourse (xxiv. 15), is proof that the outbreak of the war, though imminent, was not yet present.†

Written primarily for Jewish readers, the first gospel was evidently meant to exhibit Jesus as the

* Renan (*Les Evangiles*, 197) and others find evidence of a later date in the use of the word "Church" (xvi. 18; xviii. 17) and in the developed Trinitarian formula of baptism (xxviii. 19).

† Mark also has this expression, so that it probably came from the first recorder of the discourse. But these Evangelists would not have inserted it after the catastrophe.

Messiah, the Anointed of God to fulfil all God's purpose among men, the King for whom the Israelitish heart had been trained to long, and by whom the true theocracy, the "kingdom of heaven," is actually inaugurated. It is fittingly placed next to the Old Testament, not because it was the earliest contribution to the New—for it was not that—but because it resumes and completes each strand of the former revelation. The long and chequered history related in the Old Testament finds its consummation and significance in the life of Jesus. All the hints, foreshadowings, and predictions of the true King are realised in Him of whom the Father at last says, "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." The promises made to the father of all believers are fulfilled in this seed of Abraham through whom blessing comes to all nations. The law which had seemed too high for human weakness is re-issued in a more penetrating form and is also fulfilled. The motto of the life of Jesus as read and rendered by Matthew is "I am come to fulfil" (v. 17). The stages in the history are marked with this design: "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet."

The plan of the book subserves this purpose. It opens with the register which proves Jesus to be the heir of David and of Abraham, appearing in the fulness of time after thrice fourteen generations. Heir of Abraham, through whom all nations are to be blessed, this Babe, born King of the Jews, is hailed by the Wise Men from the East. But as this King is to reign not by bare hereditary right nor by force, but by sympathy and the supremacy which absolute self-

sacrifice gives, His path is one not of regal splendour but of hazard and obscurity (chap. ii.). His proclamation too at baptism carries with it the necessity of temptation in the wilderness, for the true King can rule only by rejecting all false ideas of glory and by personally overcoming the temptations which enthrall His weaker fellows (iii.—iv. 11). The proclamation of the kingdom heralded by John is then taken up by Jesus, who proceeds to its actual establishment (iv. 12—17), and for this purpose selects suitable followers (18—22), and begins His teaching and healing (23—25). The body of the book falls into two parts, iv. 17—xvi. 20 and xvi. 21—end, each part opening with the words, "From that time Jesus began." These two main divisions correspond on the whole to the two chief aspects of the Messiah as the righteous beneficent King, "God with us," and as the Man of sorrows. Though not mutually exclusive, the first part exhibits Jesus as bringing fulness of life and righteousness, while the second part exhibits Him preparing His disciples for His death, warning the people against rejecting Him, entering Jerusalem as king, and therefore led to His throne on the cross. The gospel culminates in the transfiguration, when the representatives of the Old Testament resign to Him their mediatorial functions. Or the turning point may be found in the preceding chapter (xvi.) when through unbelief, doubt, rejection, spiteful usage at the hands of rulers and people, Peter's confession rises clear and decided.

Some detect the artistic finish of this gospel in its three temptations (iv. 1—11), three paroxysms in Gethsemane (xxvi. 39, 42, 44); seven parables (xiii.);

ten miracles (viii. 2—ix. 34), and so forth; but the careful reader will rather detect it in the relevancy of each paragraph to the main theme. Renan, though he pronounces Mark to be the only authentic document for the facts of the life of Jesus finds in the discourses preserved by Matthew a value so great as to make it "the most important book of Christendom, the most important book which has ever been written."*

The unity of the gospel has been denied (1) on the ground that Papias referred to Matthew only the collection and publication of the discourses of Jesus.† This is a misunderstanding of the word λόγια used by Papias,‡ which does not exclude the narration of deeds, and probably was used as equivalent to "scriptures."§ (2) It is affirmed that both strict and liberal Jewish Christianity are represented in the gospel, the one in such passages as v. 17—19; xxiii. 3; xix. 28, and in the assertion of the exclusive mission of the Messiah to the Jews x. 5, 6; xv. 24; the other in passages where the exclusion of the Jews and the ingathering of the Gentiles are foretold (xxi. 43), in the visit of the Magi, the words to the centurion (viii. 10—12), and the commission to preach to all nations. But as Farrar || says: "The answer is simple. The asserted

* *Les Evangiles*, p. 212.

† Schleiermacher, Holtzmann.

‡ Lightfoot, in *Contemporary Review*, August, 1875.

§ Keim (i. 81) refutes this assault on the unity of Matthew, and concludes "we decidedly reject a theory which, in its mechanical platitude, gives a mortal wound to the organic life of this gospel."

|| *Messages of the Books*, 51

discrepancy lay in facts which found their synthesis in wider truths. Jesus was both the Messiah of the Jews and the Saviour of the world. He came to the Jew first, and afterwards to the Gentile. The Evangelist was a Jewish Christian, but he could not suppress, nor did he desire to suppress, facts and words which belonged to an order of thoughts infinitely wider than that in which he had been trained." (3) It has been pointed out that quotations of the Old Testament in this gospel are sometimes taken from the Hebrew, sometimes from the LXX. But of these quotations, even after Massebieau's *Examen*, no satisfactory account can be given, and certainly they do not form a safe test for separating part from part of this gospel.

ST. MARK.

Tradition uniformly ascribed the second gospel to Mark. The first extant account of its composition is preserved by Eusebius (iii. 39) who quotes from Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century) the following words: "This too the presbyter [John, contemporary of Apostles] used to say: Mark having become the interpreter * of Peter

* Ἑρμηνευτής, sometimes supposed to imply that Mark translated Peter's addresses into Latin for the sake of the Romans; sometimes that he acted as secretary (to Peter) aiding him in the composition of letters and so forth. From the passage quoted above, it can only be gathered that Mark in this particular instance became the interpreter of Peter by putting in writing words of his which otherwise would have been lost.

wrote with accuracy, though not in order, whatever he remembered of the things which had been either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied Him but afterwards, as I said, [accompanied] Peter, who used to suit his teaching to [his hearers'] needs, but not as if giving an orderly account of the Lord's words; so that Mark in writing down in this fashion the individual things which he remembered, made no mistake; for of one thing he made sure, that he neither omitted nor falsified anything." The connection of Mark with Peter, implied in this passage, is taken for granted by Justin Martyr who quotes the second gospel under the title of the "Reminiscences of Peter." [*Dial. c. T.*, 106].* Irenæus (iii. 1, 1) adds a little to the tradition, saying, "After the decease [of Peter and Paul] Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also wrote and handed on to us what Peter had preached." And Clement of Alexandria goes still a little further and says that there was a tradition to the effect that Mark wrote at the instigation of those who were in Rome and had presumably heard Peter.

Now this tradition in many particulars suits both what we know of Mark and what we know of the second gospel. In the New Testament only one person of the name is mentioned, the John Mark of the *Acts*, whose Jewish name *John* is gradually discarded so that he appears simply as "Mark" in the epistles. That this Mark was from his early years an ally of Peter's is apparent from the circum-

* That the *αὐτοῦ* of Justin refers to Peter is admitted. See Otto *in loc.*

stance that it was to his mother's house in Jerusalem Peter most naturally betook himself when rescued from prison (Acts xii. 12). Whether, as Farrar suggests, this house may have been the scene of the Last Supper and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, we do not know, but certainly—and this is more to our present purpose,—it was the home of Mark and the natural resort of Peter.* We are not surprised then to find Peter (1 Peter v. 13) speaking of his young friend as "Marcus, my son," whether this be the affectionate epithet of an older man, or implying that Mark had been brought to Christ by Peter. It is true that it is in connection with Paul, to whom he was introduced by his cousin † Barnabas, Mark seems to have been introduced to the life of an evangelist. And notwithstanding his desertion of Paul and the unfortunate rupture which this occasioned between men who owed so much to one another as Paul and Barnabas, it is still with Paul, commended and trusted by him, that we find Mark in after years (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). But between his departure from Paul on his first tour and his presence with him in Rome, there was ample time for his being in Babylon with Peter (1 Peter v. 13) and for his accompanying him as well as Barnabas in many journeys.

There is much also in the gospel itself which gives verisimilitude to the tradition. Not only are there

* Weiss (*Einleitung*, p. 516), thinks the tradition of Mark's authorship receives confirmation and an obscure passage of the gospel becomes intelligible, if the young man of xiv. 51 was Mark, who had followed Jesus and the disciples out of his house when they had eaten the supper.

† Col. iv. 10 with Lightfoot's note.

throughout it unquestionable evidences that the story had been told by an eye-witness (see *Characteristics*, below), but there is also evidence that this eye-witness was Peter. * The Gospel really begins with his call; it culminates in his confession; it closes with the message of the risen Lord to "his disciples *and to Peter*." At Capernaum it is Peter's house which is the centre of operations, and those who accompany Jesus are "Simon and those that were with him." Various allusions and incidents are found in this gospel alone † and some of these can most reasonably be accounted for by the supposition that Peter was the source of information (i. 35—38; xiii. 3). On the other hand there is a significant suppression of particulars connected with Peter which are related in the other gospels (cf. vii. 17 with Matt. xv. 15; vi. 47—51 with Matt. xiv. 28—31; ix. 33 with Matt. xvii. 24—27; viii. 29, 30 with Matt. xvi. 16—19). These omissions are credited to the modesty of Peter; but this does not satisfactorily account for all of them, and still less for the omission of incidents of which Peter could have given a circumstantial account. But this irregularity in the narrative is precisely what Papias' account [John Presbyter's] of the origin of the gospel would lead us to expect. For Mark was not writing to Peter's dictation nor with Peter sitting within questioning distance; he was writing from memory and himself striving to recall what he

* Note the ὀλίγον of i. 19; also the ἀμφιβάλλοντας of the one boat's crew, the καταρτίζοντας of the other.

† For a full list of these see Dr. Lindsay's *Comments:* p. 60—63.

had heard Peter preach to this and that audience or relate to this or that inquirer as occasion demanded.

That the gospel was written for Gentile readers is apparent from the explanation given of Hebrew or Aramaic names and expressions, as of Boanerges, iii. 17; Talitha cumi, v. 41; Corban, vii. 11; see also x. 46; xiv. 36; xv. 22. Jewish customs are also explained as in vii. 2, 3, 4, where "defiled" (*common* in the Greek) is explained by "unwashed," and the clause is added "For the Pharisees and all the Jews except they wash their hands oft eat not." (See also xiii. 3; xiv. 12; xv. 42.) The genealogy of Jesus is also omitted as having no interest for Gentile readers. The Old Testament is only once quoted by the Evangelist in his own narrative, and the law is not mentioned. From his reducing money to Roman currency (xii. 42, "two mites, *which make a quadrans*"), speaking of Pilate as if his readers would know who was meant (xv. 1), and from his frequent Latinisms * it has been, with much plausibility, concluded that it was written in Rome.

A definite date can scarcely be assigned to this gospel. But though Keim would bring it down to the year 100 A.D. the general tendency of modern criticism is to place it very early. Those who consider Matthew and Luke to be expansions of Mark are of course compelled to find an early date for this gospel. But this early date is also argued from "the rudeness

* Some of these he uses in common with the other evangelists, *κῆνσος*, *λεγίων*, *κράββατος*, *κοδράντης*, *πραιτώριον*, *φραγελλοῦν*: peculiar to him are *κεντυρίων*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *ξέστης*, *τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι*.

and even vulgarity of his Greek," and especially from his blunt insertion of many expressions which are liable to misconstruction or which might give offence to weak believers, and which are consequently omitted from the later gospels (as in vi. 5, "He *was not able* to do there any mighty work").* At the same time, as Mark only wrote what he "*remembered*" of Peter's narrations, we must place the gospel after the date of Peter's death, or say about the year 67 or 68 A.D. This, however, is uncertain.†

The most striking literary characteristic of the second gospel is its picturesqueness. The narrative is full of realistic and graphic details which have the effect of a picture.‡ The expression of face, the bearing, the gestures of Jesus are described as if by one who had them imprinted on his own memory. Thus we are told how Jesus "looked round about on" His hearers (iii. 5 and 34; cf. also v. 32; vi. 41; x. 23; xi. 11); how He "turned round" on Peter, viii. 33; how He "took a little child in His arms," ix. 36, took up other children and put His hands on them, x. 16. This fulness of concrete detail extends to the descriptions given of His cures; he put His fingers in the ears of the deaf mute, spat, and touched his tongue, vii. 33. So clearly does the narrator see what he describes that he frequently drops into the present tense, i. 40; ii. 10, etc., and gives the Lord's words in

* Article "Gospels," *Encyc. Brit.*

† The tradition recorded by Clement of Alexandria implies that Peter was yet alive when the gospel was written.

‡ "It seeks to present not a chronological or pragmatical history, but a picture of the public life of Jesus."—Weiss, p. 500.

direct rather than in indirect narration, "Peace, be still," iv. 39; cf. also v. 8; v. 12; vi. 31; ix. 25. The time and place are exactly specified; Jesus betakes Himself to a desert place "a great while before day" (i. 35); He embarked to cross the sea of Galilee "when even was come" (iv. 35); He went forth "by the sea side" ii. 13; iv. 1; the centurion "stood over against him," xv. 39; "they saw a young man sitting *on the right side*," xvi. 5. Perhaps it is the same pictorial gift rather than any design which leads the writer so often to vivify his story by noting the feelings with which the Lord was affected by what was passing; how He "grieved" (iii. 5), "sighed" (vii. 34; viii. 12), "wondered" (vi. 6), was "angry" (iii. 5; x. 14), "hungered" (xi. 12), felt fatigue (vi. 31), slept (iv. 38).

An important element in this life-like picture is the description of the effects produced on the people by what they saw and heard. The superficial popularity is constantly kept in view. The people "pressed upon Him," "thronged Him" so that He had to enter a boat; so that there was "no room even about the doors" of Simon's house; so that He had once and again to seek leisure by retreating to a desert place. There were so many coming and going that Jesus and His disciples had not leisure "so much as to eat bread" (the touch surely of one who was present. cf. ii. 2; iii. 10, 20; v. 21; vi. 31, 33, etc.). But deeper effects are also recorded. The greatness of Jesus is reflected in the "awe and wonder" of the people (i. 22, 27; ii. 12; vi. 2), in the "fear" and "amazement" of the disciples (iv. 41; vi. 51), in the

wonder excited by His teaching as well as by His deeds (x. 24, 26, 32).*

This pictorial power admirably serves the purpose of the Evangelist, who writes in no special dogmatic interest but aims at presenting to the Roman mind the actual personality and power of Christ, the veritable things He did and said, the effects produced on the various classes of society.† The plan of the gospel is the simplest possible. It proceeds on the idea of showing the gradual expansion of the field of Christ's activity, and the consequently increasing enthusiasm and faith of the masses over against the steadily deepening hostility of the scribes, Pharisees, and Herodians (iii. 6; xii. 13). Incidents which disclose the beginnings of this hostility are grouped in ii. 1—iii. 6; and with ever-widening rings it at last reaches the point of overflow as described in xi. 27—xii. 40. The retirement of Jesus from the presence of these conflicting tides of feeling form a feature of this gospel. Eleven of these retirements are mentioned. And they are mentioned to show the intensity of the feeling on both sides and also the command of the situation which Jesus throughout kept, not suffering the enthusiasm of the people to override His purpose and precipitate Him into a merely earthly kingdom, nor on the other hand yielding Himself to

* The concatenated rapidity of the sketch is illustrated by the use of *εὐθέως*, *straightway*, forty-one times.

† It is a mistake to suppose Mark disregards the teaching of Christ, and exhibits only His might in action. He introduces Him as a teacher (i. 21), and more than once he gathers specimens of His pregnant sayings (iv. 21—25; vii. 34; ix. 33—50). But cf. Westcott's *Introd*, 367 and Farrar's *Messages*, p. 57.

the hatred of the authorities before He had effectively uttered His teaching and fixed Himself in the enduring affection of some. Therefore alongside of the popular enthusiasm runs a more silent but deeper current of profound conviction. Out of the mass of the people some receptive souls are drawn by a sense of His teaching and a sense of His worth (iii. 34; iv. 10); an inner circle of disciples who constantly accompany Him is chosen, and among these an inmost trio, of which Peter is the most prominent member, is trained.

The concluding verses of the gospel (xvi. 9—20) are generally regarded as an appendix by an unknown hand. The best textual critics * reject them. They are not found in the Sinaitic MS., nor in the Vatican.† The internal evidence is strongly against their reception. The repetition of "early" (ver. 9, cf. ver. 2) is needless; the word for "week" is never elsewhere used by Mark; the addition "out of whom He cast seven devils," to Mary Magdalene's name is quite unaccountable, as she has been already named in this chapter as well as previously in the gospel; "the Lord" occurs twice in these few verses, never elsewhere in Mark; other words and constructions occurring in this passage are unknown to Mark. The promises made to believers and the general character of the paragraph are suspicious. There is, however,

* Tregelles, Meyer, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and others.

† But some doubt hangs over the testimony of these MSS. in this passage. See the critical editions and Salmon's argument in favour of the present ending of Mark (*Introd.*, 190-3).

a difficulty in removing these verses, for, if removed, they leave the gospel terminating with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ; and as Dr. Abbott says, "from a literary point of view the γάρ, and from a moral point of view the ill-omened ἐφοβοῦντο, make it almost incredible that these words represent a deliberate termination assigned by an author to a composition of his own." He accordingly supposes that as the common (triple) tradition ended here Mark shrank from adding anything to it. Certainly the conjecture that a leaf has been torn off must be discarded. Torn off when? Before any copy of the autograph had been made? Then Mark could readily supply it in the original MS. Torn off after copies were made? Then the original paragraphs were already multiplied, and the loss of the one actual autograph was of no importance. We can only say the termination has somehow been tampered with,* and that the difficulties connected with it have not yet been satisfactorily solved.

ST. LUKE.

The earliest traces of the third gospel are analogous to those of the second. It was quoted and used in the first half of the second century †; expressly ascribed to Luke, the companion of Paul, in the

* All that can be said in favour of the present ending may be seen in Dean Burgon's *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark.*

† Marcion, who taught at Rome 140—170, and Cerdo before him, used Luke, and traces of its use are found in Basilides (c. A.D. 120). It is also probable that Clement (80—100 A.D.) had seen it. For full discussion, see Godet *on Luke.*

second half of the century. In the Muratorian Canon it is described as the work of "Luke, a physician, whom Paul received among his followers." Irenæus* says that "Luke, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the gospel preached by him (Paul)." Tertullian (*adv. Marc.*, iv. 5) says that "Luke's digest is usually ascribed to Paul"; and in the same passage he reminds Marcion that Luke's gospel from its first publication (ab initio editionis suæ) has had the confidence of the Church. Origen† speaks of the Gospel according to Luke as praised by Paul. And Eusebius, without himself approving, refers to the common belief that when Paul speaks of "my gospel" he means the gospel of Luke.

There can be no doubt then that in the mind of the early Church the person designated in the title of this gospel as its author was the "beloved physician" of Col. iv. 14, the "fellow-labourer" and faithful friend of Paul (Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11), who accompanied him to Rome and stood by him to the end. From the manner in which Paul distinguishes him from those of the circumcision (Col. iv. 11, 14) it is generally concluded that he was of Gentile origin, and there is nothing improbable in the assertion of Eusebius‡ that he was born in Antioch.§ He seems

* iii. 1, 1, and in xiv. 1 he calls Luke "inseparabilis a Paulo et cooperarius ejus in Evangelio."

† Quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 25.

‡ *H. E.*, iii. 4.

§ Attempts to identify him with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts xiii. 1), or with Silas (Silvanus, silva = lucus) proceed on mistakes. Also the prologue of the gospel shows that its author cannot have been one of the Seventy.

to have joined Paul at Troas (Acts xvi. 11, at which point the "they" of the preceding narrative becomes "we"), to have remained at Philippi when Paul had to leave it, and to have been resumed into the Apostle's company when, six or seven years after, Paul returned to Philippi (Acts xx. 5) on his way to Jerusalem for the last time. From this point onward he seems to have continued in Paul's company, and may, as Holtzmann suggests,* have suffered with him in Rome.

That the contents of the gospel to some extent corroborate this tradition is not denied.† But to what extent this gospel can be said to be Pauline has been very largely debated. A few modern critics (Godet, *New Testament Studies*, p. 44) adhere to the traditional view that Luke's gospel is virtually Paul's. Others (Reuss, *History of New Testament*, 209—213) minimise its Paulinism. Baur and Volkmar find it to be a purely party book intended to exalt Paul and combat Jewish Christianity. The more recent members of the Tübingen school lean more to the idea that it is meant to accomplish a reconcilement between the Pauline and Jewish Christian parties in the Church. (So Hilgenfeld and Holsten.) That the gospel is not anti-Jewish is sufficiently evinced by the scenes in the temple (i. and ii.); the reverence of Jesus as "Son of David" (xviii. 38, etc), and as

* *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, 375.

† Weiss (p. 554) thinks it mere "Spielerei" to find in iv. 38 and elsewhere indications of Luke's professional knowledge as a physician; but see Hobart on the *Medical Language of St. Luke*.

Theocratic king (xix. 38); the recognition of the prior claims of the Jews (xiii. 16; xix. 9), and the references to the fulfilment of Scripture (iv. 21; xxiv. 44).* But to find in these passages and in the commendation of poverty (vi. 20; xvi. 19), and of other ascetic characteristics (vi. 35), evidence of a Judaizing bias, is to run to an extreme. There is, however, on the other hand much in the gospel which seems to indicate that it was written by one who had been accustomed to preach it to the Gentiles. There is the significant announcement made by our Lord at the commencement of His ministry (iv. 26, 27). There is prominence given to the call to the Gentiles (xiii. 28, 30; cf. xxiv. 47); and not only is importance attached to Christ's ministry in Samaria (ix. 52; xvii. 11), but the somewhat adulterated Jewish resentment against the Samaritans is vehemently rebuked (ix. 55, 56), and instances are cited in which Samaritans showed themselves more appreciative of Christ's kindness than Jews (xvii. 11—19), and more ready to fulfil the law of love than even priest or Levite (x. 30—33). In harmony with this deletion of the distinction which sundered Jew from Gentile is the grand universality of Christ's announcement of His purpose in the world, "to seek and to save *that which is lost*," inclusive of all men; and the memorable

* After citing these and other passages Reuss says, "After this it is evident what is to be thought of the old idea of a direct, even controlling, influence of the Apostle Paul upon the editing of the third gospel, an idea for which the modern Tübingen school has after all only invented a different formula."

parables in which the Fatherly love and sense of loss on God's part are set forth (xv.; cf. Matt. xviii. 12—14), as well as the instances in which this love is shown in actual operation, lifting up the humble penitent and welcoming the almost hopeless, the woman who was a sinner (vii. 36—50), Zacchæus, the outcast publican who looked for nothing less than that he should be invited (xix. 1—10), the publican praying "afar off" (xviii. 10). The man who saw the significance of these parables and incidents, and out of the mass of material before him chose these for their significance, certainly understood and sympathized with the gospel of Paul.

Here again, however, we must beware of running to an extreme, and finding Paulinism where there is none;* as in the mission of the Seventy (x. 1), which has been again and again used by critics† as proof of the strong Pauline bias of the writer. Even Bleek says: "According to the later Jews the number of the Gentile nations was seventy (or seventy-two), according to the list of nations in Gen. x. It is therefore very probable that, as the twelve apostles represented the twelve tribes of Israel, so the seventy disciples were intended to represent other nations collectively; and Luke, in mentioning them, intended to show that the Gentiles, as well as the Jews, were to be sharers of the salvation

* For a comparison of Luke's account of the appearances of the risen Lord with Paul's account (1 Cor. xv.) we must refer to Holtzmann's great work, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, p. 396.

† Strauss, Baur, etc.

which the Kingdom of God secured." Not a hint of this is given in the narrative, and the Apostles themselves are commissioned to preach to all nations (xxiv. 47). The seventy were not sent to the Gentiles, and were no more intended to represent them than the seventy men who were appointed to aid Moses in his work (Num. xi. 16).* Precarious also is it to argue from Luke's recording the ignorance and slowness of the twelve, that he undervalued them (cf. ix. 45, 51—56; xviii. 34; xxiv. 25, 36—43; xxii. 32). But the result to which an examination of the gospel leads is that its writer was well acquainted with the views of Paul and thoroughly sympathised with him, and that this has not only coloured his phraseology, but has occasionally determined his choice of material.†

The third gospel, then, is especially the gospel of a "gratuitous and universal" salvation.‡ Paul's tender and all-embracing heart finds here its stimulus and justification. His extension of the gospel to all and his doctrine of salvation by faith *versus* works finds its basis and anticipation in the life and

* Renan's idea is that Luke, by showing that others besides the twelve had apostolic powers, meant to save the legitimacy of Paul's apostolate (*Evangiles*, p. 171).

† For a full list of verbal analogies between Luke and Paul see Davidson's *Introd.*, 437. Holtzmann says: "The Pauline standpoint of Luke regulates his choice and arrangement of his material; here and there also the verbal expression of the discourses, yet not as if a subjective tendency-character took the place of an objective view of the history."

‡ Renan says: "Luke's boldest stroke in this respect is the conversion of the thief on the cross."

work of Christ Himself. The gospel opens with hymns to celebrate the salvation of the humble and waiting souls, and it throughout exhibits Christ's compassion for the poor, for women, for children, for sinners. The Saviour is Himself born among the houseless (ii. 7), and shepherds celebrate His birth (ii. 8). His parents offer for Him the sacrifice of the poor (ii. 24), and when He grew up He had not where to lay His head (ix. 58). The poor are "blessed" (vi. 20); the rich not by any means necessarily happy (xvi. 25). Equally conspicuous is the Evangelist's desire to show the relation of women to the kingdom (viii. 3), and although it is difficult to trace any plan in the gospel, the aim and idea of it are everywhere apparent.* In the words of Archdeacon Farrar, it is "the gospel of the Greek and of the future; of catholicity of mind; the gospel of hymns and of prayers; the gospel of the Saviour; the

* "The keynote is struck in the song of Zacharias, and repeated in the first sermon of Jesus in Nazareth. The object of the message of Jesus is (i. 77) 'to give us knowledge of salvation' by 'the remission of sins,' by reason of 'the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness,' and the object of Jesus Himself (iv. 18) is 'to preach the gospel to the poor,' to 'heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind.' All through the gospel (or at least the parts peculiar to Luke) there appears to a greater degree than in the first or second gospel the contrast between light and darkness, God and Satan, sin and remission of sins, culminating in the triumph of forgiveness and mercy; so that in the very last words of Jesus to His disciples (xxiv. 47) the proclamation of 'repentance and remission of sins,' is made the prospect of the future gospel to all nations."—*Encyc. Brit.*, 808.

gospel of the universality and gratuitousness of salvation; the gospel of holy toleration; the gospel of those whom the religious world regards as heretics; the gospel of the publican, and the outcast, and the weeping Magdalene, and the crucified malefactor, and of the Good Samaritan, and of the Prodigal Son." Renan, though he considers that this gospel is entangled with legend, and that its historical value is less than that of Matthew and Mark, declares it to be the most beautiful book ever written, and exhausts his copious vocabulary in praise of its largeheartedness and sweetness.

From the general character of Luke's gospel it would naturally be inferred that it was written for Gentiles. The brief preface written by the evangelist himself confirms this inference so far as to show us that the writer addressed it to "Theophilus" * primarily for his own use, but, as the issue proves, not exclusively so. Accordingly, topographical and other references not likely to be understood except in Palestine, are explained (see i. 26; iv. 31; xxi. 37; xxii. 1, etc). Dates are fixed by the year of the reigning emperor (iii. 1); the taxing under Quirinius is mentioned (ii. 2); and Luke omits the scourging and ill-usage which Jesus received at the hands of the Roman soldiers. The same liking for the Roman character and regard for the Roman government

* The only suggestion regarding Theophilus which seems worth regarding is that of the *Clementine Recognitions* (x. 71), which records that he was a man in great authority at Antioch. This coincides with Eusebius' statement that Luke was a man of Antioch.

appears in the Book of Acts. Where and when the gospel was written are matters of conjecture. Its date is partly determined by the date of its continuation—the *Book of Acts*. If this history of the early Church was written prior to the year 70 A.D., then the gospel must have been written still earlier. My own opinion is that the Book of Acts was written about the year 64, and that the gospel was written not long before, possibly while Paul was detained in Cæsarea. Renan, with little exaggeration, says that every one admits that the gospel was written after A.D. 70.* But the grounds of this common belief are not altogether safe to build on. They are stated most fully by Dr. Abbott† as follows: "(1) the pre-existence and implied failure of many 'attempts' to set forth continuous narratives of the things 'surely believed;' (2) the mention of the 'tradition of the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word' as past, not as present (παρέδοσαν) (i. 2); (3) the dedication of the gospel to a man of rank (fictitious or otherwise), who is supposed to have been 'catechised' in Christian truth; (4) the attempt at literary style and at improvement of the 'usus ecclesiasticus' of the common tradition; (5) the composition of something like the commencement of a Christian hymnology; (6) the development of the genealogy and the higher tone of the narrative of the incarna-

* Hilgenfeld dates it 100—110; Keim about 90; Meyer, Bleek, Reuss, after 70. Weiss puts it between 70 and 80, inferring this date chiefly from the wording of the prediction xix. 43, which he thinks plainly *Ex eventu*.

† *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. "Gospels," p. 813.

tion; (7) the insertion of many passages mentioning our Lord as ὁ κύριος, not in address but in narrative; (8) the distinction, more clearly drawn, between the fall of Jerusalem and the final coming; (9) the detailed prediction of the fall of Jerusalem, implying reminiscences of its fulfilment; (10) the very great development of the manifestations of Jesus after the resurrection. The inference from all this evidence would be that Luke was not written till about 80 A.D. at earliest." Of these arguments (5), (6) and (10) imply a theory of the growth of legend which we cannot accept; and besides, (6) and (10) might, with equal plausibility, be used to prove the late date of *Romans* and 1 *Corinthians*. Arguments (1), (2), (3), (4) and (7) do not require a date later than the year 60. The only arguments of real weight are those drawn from the wording of our Lord's predictions. There is no question that Luke speaks more definitely of a siege and of some of its results than Matthew and Mark. But on the other hand, had the prediction been modified by Luke's knowledge of the event, could he have inserted such a verse as xxi. 27; and could he, had he been writing after the destruction of Jerusalem, have so tranquilly closed his gospel, leaving the disciples in the Temple? But, after all, the main thing is that whether written before or after 70, it was written, as Renan, Weiss, and Holtzmann cordially allow, by Paul's companion, Luke.

ST. JOHN.

The authorship of the fourth gospel has been hotly contested. In ancient times its genuineness was denied by some persons whom Epiphanius* calls "Alogi," a nickname which has the double meaning of "deniers of the doctrine of the Logos" and "men without reason." It is, however, generally admitted that their rejection of the gospel is of no significance, and so far from suggesting that the Church in general rejected it, is rather an indication of the general reception of the gospel as Apostolic. "The fact that their difficulty with the gospel was a doctrinal one, and that they appealed to no tradition in favour of their view; that they denied the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse likewise, and absurdly ascribed both books to Cerinthus . . . shows that they were persons of no critical judgment."† In recent times, after the frivolous assaults on the gospel by Evanson (1792) and others, appeared Bretschneider's *Probabilia* (1820), in which all subsequent objections have been anticipated either explicitly or in germ.

In considering the authorship of this gospel, the external witnesses may first be called. It is not questioned that the fourth gospel was accepted as John's by the Church catholic in the last quarter of the second century. The importance of this fact may easily be under-estimated, and its significance missed.

* *Hær.*, 51.

† *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, by Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., p. 18. See also Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, E. T., c. ii.

But, as Mr. Norton, in his richly suggestive work on the *Genuineness of the Gospels*, has pointed out, the reception of the four canonical gospels at this date can be accounted for only on the supposition that they are genuine. The question of their genuineness was not a merely literary question in which few were interested; it was a question in which every Christian had the deepest interest, as that on which his faith rested; and it is difficult to see how the whole Church could have been persuaded to accept them, and especially a gospel such as the fourth, which so widely differs from the others, unless there was a general recognition that from the beginning these writings had been known to be genuine. Mr. Norton's words are worth quoting: "About the end of the second century the gospels were reverenced as sacred books by a community dispersed over the world, composed of men of different nations and languages. There were, to say the least, 60,000 copies of them in existence; they were read in the churches of Christians; they were continually quoted and appealed to, as of the highest authority; their reputation was as well established among believers from one end of the Christian community to the other as it is at the present day among Christians in any country. But it is asserted that before that period we find no trace of their existence; and it is, therefore, inferred that they were not in common use, and but little known, even if extant in their present form. This reasoning is of the same kind as if one were to say that the first mention of Egyptian Thebes is in the time of Homer. He, indeed, describes it as

a city which poured a hundred armies from its hundred gates; but his is the first mention of it, and therefore we have no reason to suppose, that, before his time, it was a place of any considerable note." *

The first writer who cites the Gospel of John by name is Theophilus of Antioch (c. 180 A.D.). In his *Ad Autolycum* (ii. 22) he has occasion to explain what is meant by the Word of God, and appeals to "inspired men, one of whom, John, says, 'In the beginning was the Word,'" etc. A little earlier, in the Muratorian fragment, the first extant account of the composition of the gospel is found: "The fourth of the gospels is by the disciple John. He was urged by his fellow-disciples and bishops, and he said, 'Fast with me this day, and for three days, and whatever shall be revealed to any of us, let us relate it.' The same night it was revealed to the Apostle Andrew that John should write the whole in his own name and that all the rest should revise it." A similar tradition is preserved by Clement † of Alexandria and by Epiphanius.‡

But although the fourth gospel is not cited as the Gospel of John earlier than the year 180 A.D., there is no doubt that it was in existence during the first half of the second century. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, which was written not later than 147 A.D., and probably earlier, so echoes the teaching of the fourth gospel, and makes such use of its contents, and cites words so closely resembling the words of the

* Vol. i. 123.

† See Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 14.

‡ *Panarium, Hær.*, li. 12.

gospel, that it is difficult to believe that he was not acquainted with a document virtually the same as, if not identical with, our fourth gospel. Dr. Ezra Abbot's very elaborate and exact examination * of the allusions and quotations in Justin amply justifies his conclusion that "we are authorised to regard it as in the highest degree probable, if not morally certain, that in the time of Justin Martyr the fourth gospel was generally received as the work of the Apostle John."

We can, however, trace the gospel further back than Justin. Hippolytus (*Philosophumena* or *Refut. Hær.*, vii. 22), in giving an account of the opinions of Basileides, who flourished at Alexandria about the year 125 A.D., says, "'This,' says he (*i.e.* Basileides), 'is that which is said in the Gospels, "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."'" The words are cited precisely as they stand in the fourth gospel, and as they are not words of Jesus, which might have been handed down through some other channel, but words of the Evangelist himself, they prove that the gospel existed before the year 125. This conclusion some critics seek to evade by maintaining that though Hippolytus seems to be quoting Basileides with the formula "he says," he is, in point of fact, rather quoting the followers of Basileides, never being careful to distinguish between the opinions of the head of a school and his disciples. Any one who carefully examines the method of Hippolytus and the passages in question will agree with Matthew Arnold in his reply to this objection: "It

* *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.* External Evidences. By Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D.

is true that the author of the Philosophumena (or *Refut. Hær.*) sometimes mixes up the opinions of the master of a school with those of his followers, so that it is difficult to distinguish between them. But if we take all doubtful cases of the kind and compare them with our present case, we shall find that it is not one of them. It is not true that here, where the name of Basileides has come just before, and where no mention of his son or of his disciples has intervened since, there is any such ambiguity as is found in other cases. It is not true that the author of the Philosophumena habitually wields the *subjectless he says* in the random manner alleged with no other formula for quotation both from the master and from his followers. In general, he uses the formula *according to them* when he quotes from the school, and the formula *he says* when he gives the dicta of the master. And in this particular case he manifestly quotes the dicta of Basileides, and no one who had not a theory to serve would ever dream of doubting it. Basileides, therefore, about the year 125 of our era, had before him the fourth gospel." *

But this same writer Hippolytus gives an account of heretical sects which preceded Basileides in point of time, and which must therefore have well-nigh touched the first century. These sects, the Naasseni and Peratæ, make large use of the fourth gospel, and whoever will read the fifth book of the *Philosophumena* will find it hard to believe that this gospel did not exist, in one form or other, in the earliest

* *God and the Bible*, 268-9.

years of the second century. The question of the authorship of the gospel is not settled by these quotations, but the question of its existence is settled. A document virtually identical with our fourth gospel was freely used in the very beginning of the second century. Add to this the testimony of Polycarp and the chain of external evidence both to the existence and to the authorship seems complete. For Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom at the age of eighty-six (as *Mart. Polyc.*, ix., seems to mean),* in the year 155-6 A.D., must have been alive during the greater part of John's residence in Asia, and used to speak to his scholars of "the intercourse he had with John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord" (Irenæus, *ad Florin.*, 2.) But Irenæus who assigns our fourth gospel to John, was the pupil of Polycarp, and "cannot, with any reason, be supposed to have assigned to the fourth gospel the place which he gives to it, unless he had received it with the sanction of Polycarp. The person of Polycarp, the living sign of the unity of the faith of the first and second centuries, is in itself a sure proof of the apostolicity of the gospel."† The evidence is not copious but it is good in quality.

Dr. Sanday, who thinks that the external evidence is not in itself sufficient to prove the Johannean authorship, is perhaps the more inclined to make this admission because he attaches quite decisive weight to the internal evidence. This evidence may be exhibited under the heads of proof that the writer of the gospel

* See Lightfoot *in loc.*

† Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Introd., xxx.

was: (1) a Jew, (2) a Palestinian, (3) an eye-witness, (4) John, the son of Zebedee.

1. That the writer was a Jew is apparent from the Hebraistic style. Keim justly speaks of the language as "a remarkable tissue of genuine Greek lightness and skill, and of Hebrew forms of expression, in all their directness, childishness, figurativeness, and awkwardness." The style of thought is also Jewish: a process of reasoning or argumentative discourse is carried on by the juxtaposition of consecutive ideas rather than by their rigid logical concatenation effected by means of particles. There appears also not only a familiarity with the Hebrew of the Old Testament (xiii. 18; xix. 37), but also with specially Jewish conceptions, such as that of the Messiah (i. 19—28; iv. 25; vi. 14, 15; vii. *passim*, etc.), the relation of Jews to Samaritans (iv. 9), the Rabbinical idea that a teacher should not converse with a woman (iv. 27), the connection of sin with affliction (ix. 2, 3). Surely it is plain that no one but a Jew could have written the seventh chapter.

Matthew Arnold * indeed maintains that the writer speaks of the Jews and their usages as if they belonged to another race from himself, to another world. "The water-pots at Cana are set 'after the manner of the *purifying of the Jews*;' 'there arose a question between some of John's disciples and *a Jew* about purifying;' 'now the *Jews'* passover was nigh at hand;' 'they wound the body of Jesus in linen clothes with spices, as *the manner of the Jews* is to

* *God and the Bible*, p. 251.

bury;' 'there they laid Jesus because of the preparation of the Jews.' No other evangelist speaks in this manner. It seems almost impossible to think that a Jew born and bred—a man like the Apostle John—could ever have come to speak so. . . . A *Jew* talking of the *Jews' passover*, and of a dispute of some of John's disciples *with a Jew about purifying*. It is like an Englishman writing of the Derby as *the English people's Derby*, or talking of a dispute between some of Mr. Cobden's disciples and *an Englishman about free trade*. An Englishman would never speak so." But, put as this is with characteristic deftness, it is faulty criticism. An Englishman who had been thirty years resident abroad, and who was writing for foreigners, would use precisely such forms of expression. And, in point of fact, the evangelist Mark, who wrote for Gentile readers, does adopt a similar style, explaining to persons unfamiliar with Jewish ways, customs familiar to himself.

2. That the author was a Palestinian appears from his intimate acquaintance with the topography of the country and of Jerusalem. The towns are mentioned "with some exact specification" added; as, Bethany, *beyond Jordan;* Bethsaida, *the city of Andrew and Peter* (i. 44); Ænon, *near to Salim* (iii. 23); and so on.* He knows that the pool by the sheep-gate in Jerusalem has five porches (v. 2); he is familiar with the various arrangements and cloisters

* The supposed mistakes in topography, which Matthew Arnold and the author of *Supernatural Religion* ridicule, have turned out to be no mistakes at all, but only evidence of minute knowledge of the country.

of the temple (viii. 20; x. 23), although, when he wrote, the temple had been swept away; he recalls the Hebrew word "Gabbatha," which was used to denote the tesselated pavement of the Roman magistrate. In the sixth chapter he relates the movements of Christ and the people as one who is familiar with the locality.

3. The author was an eye-witness. The description given by an eye-witness is recognised by its circumstantiality and graphic detail. But as the author of *Supernatural Religion* quite truly says,* "in the works of imagination of which the world is full, and the singular realism of many of which is recognised by all, we have the most minute and natural details of scenes which never occurred, and of conversations which never took place, the actors in which never actually existed." That is true and relevant, but the critic should also have observed that no amount of imagination can avail to depict correctly a real person or place which has not been seen. Imagination cannot take the place of eyesight. Raphael himself could not have painted the likeness of a man he had not seen, nor would the imagination of a Shakespeare serve him to describe accurately a scene which had actually occurred, but which he had not witnessed. He might describe a scene quite as true to nature and as consistent with the characters of the actors, but it would not be as true to fact. Now John speaks of real places, of persons who actually existed, and of events which actually happened.

* ii. 244.

And if in those instances in which we have the means of checking his statements we find them true, it is a reasonable conclusion that the graphic details with which the narrative is filled out are due to the natural reminiscences of an eye-witness, and are not the picturesque adornment of a skilful writer of fiction—a branch of literature, it may be observed, which in the first century was not in a high stage of development. The immense stretch of corn land round Sychar, the relative positions of the fishing villages on the Sea of Galilee, the tesselated pavement on which Pilate gave judgment, the temple arrangements, and other details freely interwoven with his narrative, could not be described from imagination, but only from special knowledge. And finding that this is so, we conclude that those other details which cannot now be checked—such as the mention of the very time at which this and that occurred (i. 39; iv. 6, etc.), or the naming of the individuals who were present on such and such an occasion (i. 35—51; vi. 5, etc.)—are also due to the fact that the writer was a witness of what he describes. And when to this is added the express assertion of xix. 35 (cf. i. 14 and xxi. 24), we are confronted with the alternative, either an eye-witness wrote this gospel, or a forger whose genius for truth and for lying are alike inexplicable.*

* One of the most convincing proofs that the gospel is the work of an eye-witness is that given by Dr. Sanday: "Was he a contemporary of our Lord and a member of the original Christian circle? There is one point especially which seems to decide this—that is, the way in which the conflict is

4. The author is the Apostle John. This is declared in the close of the gospel, xxi. 24, where the author ndicates with sufficient clearness who he is, and declares that he is not only the source of information, but the actual writer of the gospel. The writer expressly claims to be "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (xxi. 24, cf. 20), and our identification of this disciple is limited by the list given in xxi. 2. But as it appears from the synoptics that the disciples to whom such a title could be given were Peter, James, and John; and as the circumstances narrated in the twenty-first chapter exclude Peter, James and John remain as the only disciples who could be so designated. In the Book of Acts it is John who is found in the same companionship with Peter as the beloved disciple enjoyed in the fourth gospel; and besides, James was so early removed that it is impossible that he should be the author of this gospel. The reasonable conclusion is that it was written by John the Apostle.

To this conclusion there are objections, and some of these are serious. 1. Attention is called to the difference in thought and in language which is recognisable between the fourth gospel and the Book of Revelation. In the gospel the Greek is not of a high literary quality, but it is correct, easy, and perspicu-

described between the Jewish and Christian conception of the Messiah. Only the first generation of Christians could represent this accurately. The breach between the two conceptions was soon so wide that it became impossible for a writer to pass from the one to the other as easily and readily as the fourth evangelist has done." The whole passage should be read, in *Authorship of Fourth Gospel*, pp. 290-2.

ous. Its characteristic is its simplicity. "It is free from solecisms because it avoids all idiomatic expressions." In *Revelation* there are violations of the commonest grammatical rules. But these cannot be explained by the supposition that the writer was ignorant of these rules, for in other passages he observes them. "In the language of the Apocalypse there is nothing of the bungling and happy-go-lucky style of a beginner—indeed, it bears the stamp of consistency and purpose." That he should retain the nominative case after a preposition in i. 4 while in the same connection he gives the preposition its proper governing power, shows that he wished to preserve Christ's title in its exact form as an indeclinable proper name.* Some difference in the style of the same author is to be expected when the subjects he is handling are different; and in the vocabulary used considerable difference is necessitated. In the *Revelation* such descriptions as occur in xxi. 19—21 require an expansion of the Evangelist's vocabulary; but there are passages in the book—notably i.—iii., and xxii.—in which both vocabulary and style remind us of the fourth gospel. That ideas and words abound in the one book in common with the other has been put beyond question. In both Jesus is the Word and the Lamb, though with a difference. In both He is the First and the Last, the Light, the Giver of the

* Harnack (*Encyc. Brit.*, "Revelation") says his purpose was "to give to the words of his greeting a certain elevation and solemnity. Of course only to a foreigner could it have occurred to employ those means for this end." This is doubtful.

water of life. "The remarkable word ἀληθινός occurs nine times in the gospel, four times in the epistle, ten times in the Revelation, and only five times in all the rest of the New Testament. Similar evidence may be drawn from the words μαρτυρέω and μαρτυρία in all the Johannine books."*

It has, however, become a recognised axiom of the newer criticism that not only the language but the substance and mode of thought of the gospel and the Apocalypse are so different as quite to preclude the idea of their proceeding from one hand. This discrepancy is no new discovery; indeed, it was never more forcibly stated than by a writer of the third century.† An English critic states the difference thus:‡ "The Apocalypse is pervaded with the glow and breathes the vehement and fierce spirit of the old Hebrew prophecy, painting vividly to the mental eye, but never appealing directly to the spiritual perception of the soul. When we turn to the fourth gospel we find ourselves at once in another atmosphere of thought, full of deep yearnings of the unseen and eternal, ever soaring into a region which the imagery of things visible cannot reach; even in its descriptions marked by a contemplative quietness, as if it looked at things without from the retired depths of the soul

* Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 279. Mr. Evans has published very serviceable tables of similarities, one of them showing two hundred verbal agreements between the two books. See his *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel* (1888).

† Dionysius, quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 25. His conclusion was the reverse of that of modern criticism. He rejected Revelation.

‡ Tayler's *Fourth Gospel*, p. 10.

within. We at once recognise in the authors of the Apocalypse and the gospel a genius essentially distinct." This difference weighs so heavily with many critics that they declare it to be a psychological impossibility that the same writer should have produced both books; and as the Apocalypse is accepted by modern criticism as the work of John, the gospel is rejected.

But were we only to consider the versatility possessed by some authors, we should shrink from dogmatically affirming that the production by one mind of two books so different as the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel is a psychological impossibility. And certainly the difference between these books has been exaggerated. It will scarcely be denied nowadays that they are identical in their theological ideas *—in the exaltation of Christ's person, in His redeeming work and His sacrificial death, in the ingathering of all nations. The imagery in the two books is also very similar; and as Canon Westcott has noticed, even the plan or guiding conception of both is the same: "Both present a view of a supreme conflict between the powers of good and evil. . . . In both books Christ is the central figure. His victory is the end to which history and vision lead as their consummation."

2. Again, attention is directed to the difference between this gospel and the synoptists. The scene of our Lord's ministry is in the synoptical gospels laid in Galilee, while the fourth gospel places it in Judæa; and many events and persons are introduced in this

* See Gebhardt's *Doctrine of the Apocalypse.*

gospel which are unknown to the others. This difficulty, however, is insignificant in comparison to that which is presented in the different personality that appears in the fourth gospel. As Renan summarily puts it, "If Jesus spoke as Matthew represents, He could not have spoken as John represents." In the synoptists we find a humble, genial Son of man; in John a self-asserting, controversial person, always arguing out His own dignity, and making claims which find no parallel in the synoptists. It is enough in answer to this objection to point to Matt. xxv. 31, where Jesus claims the highest prerogative, the supreme judicial function; to Matt. xi. 27, where He claims the same relation to the Father and the same knowledge of Him as the fourth gospel exhibits Him as claiming. Other passages carry the same significance.

But, undoubtedly, there is a distinction between the utterances of Jesus as reported by the synoptists, and as reported by the author of the fourth gospel. In the first three gospels the utterances of Jesus are terse and epigrammatic; in the fourth they are discursive and argumentative. No doubt there are parables in the fourth gospel and epigrammatic sayings which would seem in place in any of the synoptics, as there are in the synoptics passages which would amalgamate with the fourth gospel; and this must not be left out of sight. Nevertheless, the characteristic difference undoubtedly remains. This continual preaching of Himself, the long argumentations that follow every miracle, are, in M. Renan's opinion, insufferable alongside of the delicious sentences of the synoptists. But does not Dean Chadwick's presenta-

tion of the case exhibit the reality when he says that "without any gospel of John, we should divine that He was interrupted, contradicted, brought to bay, driven to the self-assertion which is pronounced so strange"? It is not unnatural, after all, that if Jesus found Himself among bitter controversialists, He should adopt for awhile that "intention of proving a theme, and of convincing adversaries," which is so painful to M. Renan. "The time must have come when the bearing of our Lord in set controversy would be a subject of profound interest and importance, and when a record such as John's ought to complete the Apostolic memoirs." *

4. The most serious difficulty which attaches to the fourth gospel as a faithful record of the words of Jesus arises from the manner in which the writer seems to mingle his own thoughts and words with those of our Lord. The reported sayings of Jesus have been so moulded by the writer that we are not always sure whether we are reading the words of the Lord or the words of his biographer (cf. iii. 18—21). The words which purport to be spoken by the Baptist are quite in the style common to the author of the gospel and to Jesus (iii. 27—36). Impressed by this, even so conservative a critic as Dr. Sanday says: "It cannot, I think, be denied that the discourses are to

* "A Messiah should be many-sided. A teacher whose only gift was that of 'admirable flashes' 'the fine raillery of a man of the world,' and even that 'peerless charm' which St. John is declared to want, would scarcely have survived the first shock of solid opposition, to march in the van of nineteen centuries with unwearied feet."—Chadwick, *Christ Bearing Witness to Himself*, p. 64.

a certain extent unauthentic, but this is rather in form and disposition than in matter and substance." We may trust John in no case to have misrepresented his master, and it need not trouble us if we cannot in every case demonstrate that such and such are the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord.* It was inevitable that in reporting in Greek what had been spoken in Aramaic the style of the translator should be visible. But there is no ground whatever for affirming that the discourses are ideal compositions of the Evangelist without basis in any utterances of Jesus.

4. Lastly, it is affirmed that John writes with an object in view, to prove a certain proposition, and that history written from such a standpoint cannot be accepted as true history. Thus Keim says: "Whoever sees a historian begin with his philosophy, may with good reason feel convinced that he has before him a writer whose starting-point and deepest sympathies consist in philosophic studies, whose study of history is a philosophy of history, and who in imparting it may adapt that which actually happened, not always faithfully, to suit the point of view of his exalted contemplation of the universe." As a reprimand administered to Keim's own school nothing could be more relevant; as applied to a writing such as the fourth gospel it has no relevancy. John plainly

* The tables exhibiting differences in the vocabulary found in the Evangelist's narrative and in the reported words of our Lord, which are published in Dr. Reynolds' *Introduction to the Gospel of St. John* (Pulpit Com.) are valuable but manifestly do not prove that the discourses had not passed through John's mind. Difference in *style* as well as in vocabulary must be shown.

announces his aim, and undoubtedly selects the material most suitable to his purpose, and may in consequence give us an incomplete view of Christ; but it must be proved, instance by instance, that he has misrepresented. As Godet points out: "Sallust begins his history of Catiline with a philosophical dissertation, but no one imagines on that account that the narrative of the conspiracy is merely a romance composed on that theme. It is not the fact which has come out of the idea: on the contrary it is the idea which has proceeded from the contemplation of the fact." *

The purpose of the author in writing the fourth gospel is declared by himself (xx. 31), "These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through His name." This object he keeps in view throughout, selecting from the life and words of Christ that material which best forwards his design. No composition in the whole compass of literature is a more perfect unity. Each word has its own place and helps out the plan. There is not a wasted clause, nor one without significance from the first word to the last. In the Prologue (i. 1—14) the idea of the whole is set before the reader. The history of the Incarnate Word, and of the results of the Incarnation,

* Other difficulties cannot here be entered into. A clear statement of the bearing of the Passover controversy on the authorship of the fourth gospel will be found in Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel;* Luthardt follows Schürer, *De Controversiis Paschalibus* (Leipzig: 1869); or in Kahnis' *Zeitschrift* for 1870.

which he means to relate, is here given in essence and in germ. The Word, the Being in whom is Life and Light, who is God, and through whom God expresses Himself, was made flesh and dwelt among men. John was sent beforehand to prepare men for His coming, and yet when He came to His own His own received Him not. But some believed, and to them He gave power to become the sons of God. The whole gospel is but an extension of this idea, an exhibition of the actual history of the manifestation of the Son of God, and of the belief and unbelief with which this manifestation was met.

John writes to convince men that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God. He does not expect that men will believe this stupendous truth on his mere word. He sets himself to reproduce the life of Jesus and to reproduce those salient features which gave it its character. He believes that what convinced him will convince others. One by one he cites his witnesses. In the simplest language he tells us what Christ said and what He did, and lets us hear what this man and that man said of Him. He tells us how the Baptist himself pure to asceticism, so pure and holy and true as to command the veneration of all classes in the community, assured the people that he himself was not of the same world as Jesus—that he was of earth, Jesus from above. He tells us how the incredulous but guileless Nathanael was convinced of the supremacy of Jesus, and how the hesitating Nicodemus was constrained to risk everything and acknowledge Him. He cites witness after witness, never garbling their testimony, but showing with

as exact truthfulness how unbelief grew and hardened into opposition, as he tells us how faith grew till it culminated in the explicit confession of Thomas, "My Lord and my God." The miracles are related as the works through which Christ manifested Himself, for John looks upon the miracles as "signs," each of them intended to exhibit in visible form some characteristic of Christ's spiritual work. The turning point of the gospel is in the twelfth chapter. In this chapter it becomes evident that the manifestation of Christ has wrought in some a deep belief in and attachment to His person which makes it certain that He will be remembered and adhered to; His personal friends, (1—8), the Jewish people (9—18), even the Greeks (20—23), recognise Him as of God. But at the same time unbelief also comes to a head (10, 19, 37—42), and no more can be done to convince gainsayers. From this point it is the *results* of this unbelief and faith that are shown.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

THAT the book named *The Acts of the Apostles** is from the same hand as the third gospel is inferred from the reference in the preface of the *Acts* to a former treatise addressed to Theophilus by the same writer, and from the characterisation of that former treatise in terms descriptive of a gospel. This inference is confirmed by the similarity of style which the two works exhibit, and is universally accepted as a legitimate conclusion.† All evidence therefore which goes to prove that Luke was the author of the third gospel is evidence also for his authorship of the *Acts*; and in this latter book itself there is nothing inconsistent with this conclusion, but rather some peculiarities which confirm it. Chief among these are what are known as the "we" sections, those passages in the latter half of the book in which the writer speaks in the first person. The first occurrence of this peculiarity is in xvi. 10 "we endeavoured to

* Unfortunately so named, as only the acts of Peter and Paul are recounted, while mention is also made of the acts of others who were not Apostles.

† Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. 10, speaks of it as a conclusion "laquelle n'a jamais été sérieusement contestée."

go into Macedonia" (comp. v. 8); from which it is inferred that the writer had joined Paul at Troas, and continued with him till he left Philippi. The "we" is not resumed until Paul returns to Philippi six or or seven years after, chap. xx. 5, from which point it is maintained till Paul's arrival in Jerusalem xxi. 18. It again appears in the account of Paul's voyage, chap. xxvii., and continues till his arrival in Rome xxviii. 16. But as at Troas where the "we" first appears, both Silas and Timothy were with Paul, some have ascribed to the one and some to the other the authorship of these sections. The claim of Silas however is disposed of by the fact that in the incident at Philippi he is spoken of in the third person (xvi. 19—40); while the claim of Timothy * is inconsistent with the definite differentiation of the "we" writer from Timothy in chap. xx. 4, 5. Against the claim of Luke there is no such objection.

But admitting that the "we" sections were written by Luke, or at any rate, by some companion of Paul, does it necessarily follow that the whole book was written by this same hand? By no means, say the Tübingen critics. Some unknown writer of the second century used these memoranda of Paul's journeys to eke out his other sources of information and to serve his own purposes. That the account of Paul's voyage was written by an eye-witness is too obvious to be denied, and in general the circumstantiality and vividness of the "we" sections guarantee their authenticity; but this, it is said, only proves the

* Asserted by Schleiermacher, De Wette, Bleek, and especially Mayerhoff.

early authorship of these sections, not of the entire book. But this idea, that the author of the *Acts* merely incorporated these sections into his book without alteration, is given up, because further investigation has put it beyond doubt that the same peculiarities of style and diction are found in these sections as in the remainder of the book. And those who still maintain that the book was written in the second century are placed in the awkward predicament of being obliged to hold that the skilful literary hand which is discernible throughout, incorporated and re-wrote these sections so clumsily as not even to alter the "we" of his sources into "they." This is too much for literary critics like Renan, who frankly declares that such an explanation is inadmissible, and that although a ruder compiler would have left the "we" unaltered, it is not possible to ascribe such clumsiness to the writer of *Acts*. "We are therefore irresistibly led to the conclusion that he who wrote the latter part of the work wrote also the former, and that the writer of the whole is he who says, 'we' in the sections alluded to."* But if the integrity of the *Acts* is proved, then its authorship may confidently be ascribed to Luke, for it is unquestionably from the same hand as the third gospel, and the earliest MSS. as well as tradition ascribe this gospel to Luke, the companion of Paul. †

Other material, besides his own reminiscences, Luke must have had, and of this material some small

* Renan, *Les Apôtres*, xi., xii.

† Cross references proving the integrity of the *Acts* will be found in Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 375.

proportion may have been documentary. It is reasonable to suppose that missionaries and deputations would sometimes make written reports of their work to the Church from which they held their commission. Letters would necessarily pass between the Churches, and the decisions of the several communities would probably be preserved in writing. "It cannot be supposed that when complaints had risen in the Church of Jerusalem of unfairness in the distribution of the common funds, and deacons had been appointed for the purpose of removing this ground of dissatisfaction, they would not be required to furnish accounts of the moneys they had received and the modes of distribution, which might be submitted to the Apostles and the Church at stated periods. And if Matthew had been a tax-collector we may be certain that these accounts would be carefully prepared and scrutinised. The presentation of these accounts would imply formal proceedings, minutes of which would be kept; for it would often be requisite to refer to what had occurred at previous meetings as a guide for future conduct." *

Weiss goes much further, and holds that the discourses which appear in the early part of the book were handed down in a written form. "Of course," he says (*Bibl. Theol.*, Eng. Transl., i. 161), "these discourses which the author did certainly not hear, and which, from the nature of the case, could not well be transmitted orally, could be only free compositions if, in his first part, he had really used no kind of literary

* Sir Richard D. Hanson's *Apostle Paul.*

sources, but had simply related them according to oral tradition, however trustworthy. When, however, we consider the analogy of the gospel, which goes back almost entirely upon written sources, this is exceedingly unlikely." But Luke's preface to his gospel would rather suggest that he had gathered his information from a number of persons to whom he had access, and who had themselves been eye-witnesses of the events to be narrated, and accordingly many critics believe that for the information conveyed in the *Acts*, Luke was indebted to Peter himself, James, John, Mark, Philip, and others.

The difficulty indeed is not in conceiving what material lay to the hand of an author in composing such a history, as in discovering what determined his selection from the abundant material. It was in 1798 that attention was called by Dr. Paulus * to certain features of the book which seemed to him to indicate that the writer aimed at clearing Paul from the aspersions of the Judaists. Forty-three years

* In his programme entitled *De consilio, quo scriptor in Actis Ap. concinnandis ductus fuerit*, Sir Richard Hanson advocates the view that the book is a Pauliad. "It will of course be said that the work is obviously natural and spontaneous, that the author has no other object than to describe the salient incidents in the history of the early Church, and that he has simply selected those which commended themselves to his judgment for the purpose; and it must be admitted that he does possess in an eminent degree that higher art which knows how to assume the aspect of nature, keeping itself out of sight. But if there were no such motive as we have suggested [an advocacy of Paul], how does it happen that the work contains no reference, even by implication, to the dispute with Peter, or with any parties in the Church

afterwards Schneckenburger * elaborated this idea, and pointed out that in the first half of the book Peter is represented as the forerunner of Paul, and as foreshadowing his views, while in the latter half Paul is represented as in many respects approximating to Peter. Baur pushed the idea a little further and endeavoured to prove that the object of this representation was conciliatory, that it was intended to draw the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church more closely together.

Zeller accepts the theory of Baur that there was an irreducible difference between the teaching of Paul and that of Peter and the other original Apostles; that this difference grew to such dimensions that there were to all intents and purposes two Churches, presenting antagonistic types of Christianity; that subsequent to the Apostolic age sundry attempts were made to heal this breach, and that the Acts of the Apostles, written about the year 120, was one of the most successful of these conciliatory efforts. It is written by a Gentile Christian, and is intended to make such concessions to Judaism as might be expected to purchase the good-will of Judaistic Christians. The writer, therefore, represents Paul as being on friendly terms with the Jerusalem Apostles, and as appealing to them on the question of Gentile Christi-

itself, while Peter is made by his conduct to vindicate the pretensions and practices of Paul in those very particulars in which they were most vehemently assailed. And how does it happen that all the incidents worthy of description should be associated exclusively with those individuals in the Church who are afterwards brought into contact with Paul?"

* *Ueber den Zweck der Apost.*

anity. Paul is also represented as on various occasions observing the Jewish law, circumcising Timothy, shaving his head, and observing the Jewish feasts. The writer also enlarges upon Peter's reception of a Gentile within the Church. And in general a parallel is run between Peter and Paul. If Peter's first act of healing is that of a lame man at the Temple gate; so also is Paul's first act of healing upon a cripple at Lystra. Peter is delivered from prison miraculously in Jerusalem; in Philippi Paul has a similar experience. If Peter strikes dead Ananias and Sapphira, a like power is exhibited in Paul's blinding of Elymas the sorcerer. Peter raises Tabitha; Paul raises Eutychus. This parallelism, it is said, cannot be authentic history. The facts are manipulated in order to bring out a parallelism between Peter and Paul and thus to promote the reconciliation of the two antagonistic parties in the Church.

But the theory of Baur is not only in itself groundless, but its application to the Book of *Acts* is impossible. Had it been written for the sake of conciliating Jewish and Gentile Christians, is it credible that the unbelief of the Jews should be so thrust upon the reader as it is from first to last in this book? Is it credible that if the writer's purpose were to hide from view everything which could accentuate the distinction between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, he should call attention at the critical point in the history to the jealousy of Paul's action which many Jews felt, and put into the mouth of the elders at Jerusalem these words: "Thou seest, brother, how many myriads of Jews there are which

believe, and they are all zealous of the law"? In explanation of this, Baur can only helplessly say that here the writer "forgets his *rôle*"—forgets his *rôle* forsooth at the very crisis of the history, at the one point at which it is simply impossible he should forget his *rôle!* Is it likely that the writer of an historical romance in the second century who desired to conciliate Judaizing Christians would give us so slender an account of the growth of Jewish Christianity, and direct attention almost exclusively to the growth of the Gentile Church?

It is satisfactory to note in the modern critical school a disposition largely to modify the theory of Baur and accordingly to reject some of his chief critical conclusions. Thus Schenkel, one of the boldest of critics says:* "Having never been able to convince myself of the sheer opposition between Petrinism and Paulinism, it has also never been possible for me to get a credible conception of a reconciliation effected by means of a literature sailing between the contending parties under false colours. In respect to the Acts of the Apostles in particular I have been led in part to different results from those represented by the modern critical school. I have been forced to the conviction that it is a far more trustworthy source of information than is commonly allowed on the part of modern criticism."

Overbeck, while refuting the theory of Zeller, advances his own opinion, that the book is the attempt of a Gentile Christian to clear up the position of his

* *Das Christusbild der Apostel*, etc. (preface).

own section of the Church, and to show that Gentile Christianity was the legitimate fruit of the Christianity of the older Apostles, and was not originally founded by Paul.* This view approximates to the truth. The Book of Acts does in point of fact exhibit Paulinism and Gentile Christianity as the legitimate fruit of the Christianity of the older Apostles, but that it was the special and exclusive object of the writer to explain and justify the position of Gentile Christianity is doubtful. Perhaps after imagining various designs cherished by the author, critics might do worse than accept his own very simple statement, implied in the first paragraph of the book (i. 1—8), that he meant to relate how the work which the Lord had initiated, as he had already told in his gospel, gradually took hold of the world. He aims at relating how Christ was preached and was accepted in ever-widening circles, first in Jerusalem, then in Judæa, then in Samaria, and at last in the whole world (i. 8). Necessarily he justifies the work of Paul, and as a true historian shows that each widening circle of the gospel's influence resulted from what went before; that the increase of the Church was not by catastrophe, but by growth. Himself a companion of Paul and writing for the information of a Gentile, it was inevitable that he should enlarge on those features and incidents

* See Overbeck's introduction to Zeller's *Commentary on Acts*. Overbeck thinks also that the writer had a subordinate political aim, and that he introduces incidents which illustrate the good terms on which Paul stood with the Roman state and its officials, in order to ward off political suspicion from the Church.

of the Church's growth with which he himself had been chiefly concerned; but he does not confine himself to one aspect of Christianity. He does not follow every line on which Christian influence travelled, but he follows the track of Paul, which was unquestionably by far the most important. By giving the true history of the extension of the Church, he necessarily justifies Gentile Christianity.

The date of the book has been much canvassed, and even some critics who accept it as the work of Luke, are of opinion that it cannot have been written till about the year 80 A.D.* The key to its date, however, is most likely to be found in its abrupt ending. Great difficulty has been experienced in accounting for this ending; and although the writer may have felt that having brought his story down to the arrival of Paul in Rome his task was accomplished, it must be admitted that if the book did not leave its author's hands till after the death of Paul, it is unaccountable that he makes no mention of that event. And certainly the simplest reason we can give for his stopping where he does is that he wrote the book in Rome at the close of Paul's two years' residence, and that he tells no more because as yet there was no more to tell. The unfortunate attempt of Holtzmann, to show that Luke was indebted to Josephus, and therefore wrote not before the close of the first century, is treated by Salmon with suitable raillery.†

* Lekebusch, Ewald, Lechler, Bleek.

† A further and convincing argument for the early date of *Acts* is found in the fact that no use of the epistles of Paul is traceable in the book.

The promise of accuracy which Luke gave in the preface to his gospel is fulfilled in the Book of Acts. In the first century the various Roman magistrates and governors of provinces were distinguished by titles which were apt to be confounded by an ill-informed or careless writer. These titles are applied with accuracy by Luke. Thus Sergius Paulus is spoken of (xiii. 7) as ἀνθύπατος, that is Proconsul or governor of a senatorial province. Gallio at Corinth (xviii. 12) is described by the same title. The magistrates of Thessalonica are spoken of as politarchs (xvii. 6), while those at Philippi are called prætors (στρατηγοί, xvi. 20), and the governor of Melita, merely "head-man" (πρῶτος, xxviii. 7), all which designations are confirmed by extant inscriptions or by ancient historians.* Luke's accuracy has also been tested by comparing his reports of the speeches of Peter and Paul with the extant remains of their writings. It is admitted by all critics that the speeches ascribed to Paul contain expressions which are peculiarly Pauline. And it has further been remarked that in Luke's report of the speech at Athens, which he did not himself hear, there occur none of the phrases characteristic of Luke's style; whereas the speech of Paul (xxii.), which was delivered in Hebrew, contains no Pauline, but many Lucan peculiarities. Certainly these facts point to a companion of Paul's as the author. Traces of Luke's style in his reports of speeches indicates that he was not mechanically incorporating in his narrative written

* Many instances will be found in Biscoe, *History of the Acts Confirmed*, etc.

records of these speeches, but was writing them as they lived in his own memory.

But Luke's trustworthiness has been challenged on the ground of the distribution and substance of these speeches rather than on the score of their diction. It is affirmed that they "give prominence to the characteristic culminating points of the narrative, and in this respect they are spread over the narrative in the most artistic manner" (Overbeck). It is thus insinuated that these discourses of Peter, Stephen, and the rest, have no historical reality, but are invented by Luke to bear out his view of the development of the early Church. Now it is undoubtedly true that we are always dependent on the historian for his selection of facts, and for the perspective in which he sets them, and unquestionably Luke has told us just those facts which seemed to him most clearly to elucidate the state and growth of the primitive Church. And in recording speeches he has, of course, followed the same rule. He has not recorded all that was said, but only salient and significant points in important speeches. So far he may be said to have used his material to express his own views. But that he has invented anything or distorted facts or utterances, or given us false and misleading impressions is not proved. On the contrary, so far as we can test his accuracy in reporting these speeches, his trustworthiness stands the test. The substance of Peter's first preaching, the resurrection of Christ for our salvation, corresponds with the account Paul gives of the general substance of Apostolic preaching in 1 Cor. xv. Ideas which occur in 1 Peter are found also in the speeches

ascribed to Peter; thus the idea so prominent in Peter's mind as revealed by the speeches, and so emphatically asserted by him, that the death of Jesus was according to "the determinate counsel" of God (ii. 23; iv. 28; cf. x. 42) is also found more than once in the Epistle (i. 20; ii. 4); the co-ordinate idea of Christ as the stone rejected by the builders but chosen of God, appears in Peter's speech (Acts iv. 11) and also in his Epistle (ii. 6).

THE EPISTLES.

OF the twenty-seven books which compose the New Testament, twenty-one are in epistolary form. This species of literature, though it had not been common among the Greeks,* was familiar to the Romans of the Empire, with its numberless foreign connections and ramified system of communication. To the early Christian Church it became a necessity. Novel difficulties arose in the young communities, and these could best be removed by a direct appeal to the Apostles. Information which Paul received regarding any of the Churches in which he took so intense an interest naturally elicited from him some expression of joy or gratitude or disappointment. He seems never to have thought of writing a book; and ceaselessly moving as he was from place to place, and burdened with a multiplicity of cares, any extended literary labour was out of the question. He did not even take any steps for the wider publication of his letters, except on those rare occasions when he in-

* A recent writer says: "The Greeks . . . did not write letters. They, the great originators of the world, had the magnanimity to leave this little corner a blank for their victors and imitators."—*Spectator*, 4th Sept., 1886.

structed two Churches to interchange the letters he had sent to them (Col. iv. 16). Some of his letters, indeed, by their elaborate and argumentative treatment of a theme, present rather the appearance of essays; but their epistolary character is maintained by their being addressed to a definite class of contemporaries resident in a particular locality. Other letters in the New Testament are little more than private notes. Six are addressed to individuals, ten to local Churches, and five to Christians in general, though in the group commonly entitled "Catholic Epistles" seven are included.*

From this feature of the New Testament writings both advantages and disadvantages result. A letter admits of a freer handling of a subject than a treatise. The personality of the writer finds a fuller expression, and ampler use can be made of the actual circumstances of the reader. Hence we gain vividness, warmth, personal interest. On the other hand, we miss the completeness of information which is gained by systematic treatment. The points touched upon in the Apostolic letters are sometimes of merely passing interest, while points that intensely exercise the modern mind find no place in them. No doubt, in dealing with matters which no longer interest Christians, the Apostles illustrate principles which are of permanent importance, and in general exhibit the

* L'Épitre fut ainsi la forme de la littérature chrétienne primitive, forme admirable, parfaitement appropriée à l'état du temps aux aptitudes naturelles."—Renan, *St. Paul*, 230. The same form was continued by Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Barnabas. See Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 18.

bearing which the facts of Christianity have upon life and doctrine. But it is often difficult to apply these principles to the matters which now concern us—a difficulty which however need not be greatly regretted, as the average Christian mind is not wont unduly to exercise itself or gain independence of thought without urgent provocation. The Church in its infancy had these direct instructions regarding its actual difficulties; the Church in its maturity should be able to deduce from the general argument and unapplied principles of these letters all the guidance she now requires.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

The epistles of Paul are the earliest literary relics of Christianity. Their value was speedily recognised by the Church, and they were gathered into one volume. Marcion, who taught in the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138—161), appealed to a rule of faith, composed of two parts, the Gospel, and the "Apostolicon" or "Apostolos." This Apostolicon consisted of ten epistles of Paul, who was the only Apostle recognised by Marcion as authoritative. The Epistles to Timothy and Titus were omitted. This is the earliest collection of which any record is extant, and even this was not made until some, probably many, of Paul's letters had been lost. For letter-writing must have been to this Apostle a familiar occupation. The care of all the Churches scattered throughout the Roman world came upon him, not on

set occasions, but daily (2 Cor. xi. 28), a care which could be practically exercised only by correspondence. That he received many business letters from his Churches is not only likely from the nature of the case, but certain from his own statement (1 Cor. xvi. 3; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1 and 1 Cor. vii. 1). His letters are spoken of by the Corinthians (2 Cor. x. 10) in terms which imply that several had been read, although only one addressed to them is extant of a date prior to the use of that language (cf. also 1 Cor. v. 9, which Salmon (*Introd.*, p. 462) understands of a previous letter to 1 Cor., though Jowett thinks the words refer to the epistle then being written; *St. Paul's Epistles*, i. 195). Other expressions incidentally used by the Apostle carry the same inference, that the writing of letters was a frequent employment with him (2 Thess. iii. 17; Phil. iii. 18). The same conclusion is forced upon the mind from a consideration of the dates of the thirteen epistles we have. Of these none can be referred to an earlier date than the year 53, or fifteen years after his conversion. In that year, or about it, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written, and again there is silence for about five years. But in the year following this interval the four largest epistles, forming the greater part of all his extant writings, were composed. It is very difficult to believe that the warm affections and intense interest betrayed in the Thessalonian Epistles, and which he felt for many of his Churches, lay dormant or unuttered for five years; or that the exuberant literary activity manifest in the longer epistles was a novel exercise to Paul, or found expres-

sion no more frequently than at the long intervals marked by the extant epistles.*

As Paul wrote little with his own hand, whether from some defect of eyesight or from an inability to write the Greek character with ease, he was compelled to be careful to authenticate his letters. Accordingly, as the letter drew to a close he took the pen from the scribe and added with his own hand the salutation to his friends and the authenticating signature † (see 2 Thess. iii. 17; Philem. 19; Gal. vi. 11, "Ye see in how large characters I write unto you with mine own hand"). It is seldom that the amanuensis throws off his anonymity and appears in his own person, as in Rom. xvi. 22: "I Tertius, who write this epistle, salute you in the Lord." Generally the reader is left to gather who the amanuensis was from the association of some other name with that of Paul

* An important inference is drawn by Prof. Jowett (*St. Paul's Epistles*, p. 200): "It is obvious that the supposition, or rather the simple fact, that epistles have been lost which were written by St. Paul, is inconsistent with the theory of a plan which is sometimes attributed to the extant ones, which are regarded as a temple having many parts, even as there are many members in one body, and all members have not the same office. A mistaken idea of design is one of the most attractive errors in the interpretation of Scripture, no less than of nature. No such plan or unity can be really conceived as existing in the Apostle's own mind, for he could never have distinguished between the epistles destined to be lost and those which have been allowed to survive."

† Similar authentication was in use among the Romans. Thus Cicero writes: "In ea Pompeii epistola erat *in extremo in ipsius manu*, Tu, censeo," etc. *Vide* Renan's *St. Paul*, 233, note.

in the opening of the epistle (1 Cor. i. 1 ; 2 Cor. i. 1). And it is tolerably certain that a scribe employed in the arduous task of keeping pace in writing with the torrent of Paul's dictation would have little leisure to insert any thoughts of his own. It is possible he may have here and there obscured a phrase, and the very fact that these letters were spoken may account for the broken grammar and for the abrupt introduction of new thoughts, and for that overwhelming rapidity which the pen would have bridled.

The order in which the epistles of St. Paul now stand in the New Testament is meaningless, and has to all appearance been determined by the relative bulk of the letters, or by the comparative rank and importance of the cities and Churches to which they were addressed. By critics they have been variously classified according to their contents, their dates, their authenticity. Renan divides them into five groups according to their authenticity. His classification may be given as a sample.

1st. There are the incontestable and uncontested epistles, namely, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans.

2nd. The epistles certainly authentic but to which objections have been raised, viz., 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Philippians.

3rd. The epistles certainly authentic, though gravely suspected, viz., Colossians and its pendant to Philemon.

4th. A doubtful epistle, that to the Ephesians.

5th. Spurious epistles, the two to Timothy and one to Titus.

This classification conveniently summarises the con-

clusions of that great school of criticism to which Renan may be said to belong.

But for the student who wishes to read the epistles with intelligence the chronological order is, without doubt, the most significant and helpful. The epistles may be classified according to their date in three groups.

1st. Those written during the period of Paul's missionary activity, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans.

2nd. Those written during his imprisonment, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians.

3rd. Those written after his release in the closing years of his life, 1 Timothy, Titus, and 2 Timothy.

The date of the various epistles cannot be absolutely determined, but we may accept as highly probable the following dates: 1 and 2 Thessalonians in the year 53; 1 Corinthians in the spring and 2 Corinthians in the summer of 58; the Epistle to the Galatians was probably written late in the same year 58, and that to the Romans in the following spring. The epistles of the imprisonment must be placed in the years 62 and 63, the Epistle to the Philippians being assigned to the former year, those to the Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians, to the latter. The first pastoral epistle to Timothy, and that to Titus, must be assigned to the year 64 or 65, and the second to Timothy to the year 66 or 67.

It is of course only by ascertaining the date and occasion of an epistle that we can thoroughly understand it. If we do not know the circumstances which have evoked it and the object the writer has in view,

the force of the epistle as a whole is lost upon us, although we may appreciate individual utterances and be edified by the sentiments and flashes which are struck out in the collision of hostile opinions. Allusions which the writer introduces lose their point and significance, unless we know something of the conditions of himself and his correspondents.

Another advantage accrues from the study of the epistles of St. Paul in chronological order. It is only thus we can observe the growth of his ideas and so harmonise them. In illustration of this the difference in Paul's eschatology in his earlier and later epistles may be adduced. In writing to the Thessalonians he holds out the hope of Christ's personal coming. By the breath of His mouth, that is to say, by His very presence, He should destroy the enemies of the Christian faith who persecuted and tempted them. But in writing to the Corinthians it is another prospect he holds out to those who, like himself, were suffering for the faith. That prospect no longer is that their enemies shall be destroyed, but that they themselves shall be delivered by death. In writing to the Corinthians he has much to say of the dissolution of the body, of the striking of frail tents, and of the entering into everlasting habitations. It is no longer the coming of the Lord but the departure of the believer that is to effect the happy meeting. What has wrought this change? No one can read Paul's intervening experience without recognising the cause and the naturalness of the growth of his new eschatology. These distressing sicknesses and scourgings, the stonings, and shipwrecks, and outrages, and risks, and privations,

had impressed on his mind the nearness of death, but they had also taught him that through his very sufferings the strength which upheld him was seen to be divine. He thus learned that what had been the law for the Master that He should draw men by being lifted up on the cross, was the law for the disciple also, and that the world was to be converted to Christ not by a glorious and sensible exhibition of His power, but by the slow conviction produced by the spiritual majesty of loving toil and suffering patience. The treasure was in earthen vessels that the glory might be merely spiritual. He himself was full of infirmities, but he gloried in them as the medium through which Christ's power to sustain was exhibited. He bore about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus, and so the life, the present upholding living power of Jesus was manifest in him.

EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

That the Apostle of the Gentiles should long to preach the gospel in Rome was a matter of course. It was the true metropolis to which every road led, which received from all the provinces whatever they possessed of interest or value, and which distributed to the world law, order, civilisation. During his three years' residence at Ephesus the desirableness of visiting the greater city pressed upon Paul with the force of a necessity, "I must also see Rome" (Acts xix. 21). And this was not the only nor the first time he had conceived the purpose of visiting the imperial city

(Rom. i. 13). Hitherto, however, the East had claimed him. But now that he has once and again "fully preached the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum" his work in these parts seems to be finished for the time (Rom. xv. 23), and he looks to the extreme West, and resolves to find his way to Spain. The one duty that remains to be discharged before he turns his back on the East is to carry to Jerusalem the fund for the poor Christians there, which had been collected by the Churches of Macedonia and Achaia. This was a duty he would not delegate, for not only was it an ordinary expression of Christian charity, but he hoped it might prove a bond which should more firmly unite the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church. After handing over this fund he would start for Rome. This intention of his was fulfilled in unthought-of ways, but for the sake of preparing the Christians in Rome for his visit he sends this letter. Preparatory to his visit to Corinth he had sent a letter which had smoothed his way and made his visit more welcome and more profitable, and to a Church like that of Rome, on which he had no personal claims, he no doubt felt it would only be courteous to intimate his intended visit. Besides, in view of a missionary journey to Spain, and it might be to Gaul and the remotest parts of the empire, it was of the utmost importance that the Church of the imperial city should countenance and aid him, and should do so especially by distinctly recognising the claims of the Gentiles, of the world, to the benefits of the gospel.

The time and place of writing are fixed by the

account of his movements, which the writer gives in the fifteenth chapter. He is on the eve of starting to Jerusalem (xv. 25) with the money for the poor saints. But from Acts xx. 1—3 we know that this journey was made after Paul had spent at Corinth the winter immediately succeeding his long residence at Ephesus, presumably the winter of 58 A.D. From the same passage in Acts we learn that he had intended to sail direct from Greece to Syria, but was compelled at the last moment to change his route in order to baulk a plot of the Jews. In the Epistle to the Romans there is no mention of this plot, though occasion for its mention was present in Rom. xv. 31; and this seems to involve that the letter was written previous to the discovery of the plot, that is to say, previous to his leaving Corinth. The time of year at which he left Corinth is approximately fixed by the mention (Acts xx. 6) that he spent "the days of unleavened bread" at Philippi. A few weeks would suffice for his visiting the Churches which lay between Corinth and Philippi, and we may therefore conclude that he left the former city in early spring.

That the letter was written from Corinth is indicated also by the circumstance that Phœbe, a "deacon" of the Church at Cenchreæ is commended to the Church at Rome, and may possibly have carried the letter. Gaius, in whose house Paul was living (xvi. 23), was a Corinthian (1 Cor. i. 14), though several of that name are mentioned in the New Testament. That Erastus (xvi. 23) was chamberlain of Corinth would seem at least in some degree probable from 2 Tim. iv. 20.

Though the letter was occasioned by Paul's intended visit and his desire to pave the way for his personal presence, the contents of it were necessarily determined by the character of the Christian Church in Rome. Unfortunately nothing is certainly known of this Church, save what may be learnt from the epistle itself. It is known that as early as Cicero's time (speech in defence of Flaccus, B.C. 59) the Jews were a numerous, wealthy, and influential part of the population of Rome. Their number was further increased by the Jews whom Pompey brought to Rome as captives.* Under the empire they were for the most part protected and even favoured. No party in the state bewailed the death of Julius Cæsar with greater ostentation or with more reason.† Under Augustus their strength and prosperity still increased. Tiberius, possibly through fear of their growing influence, instituted against them severely repressive measures.‡ In spite, however, of these measures and the subsequent edict of banishment issued by Claudius, they continued to prosper in Rome and to make many proselytes.§ Indeed it would seem, from the passage of Tacitus cited below, that a very large number of Roman freemen had adopted the Jewish faith, notwithstanding the ridicule they thereby incurred. With so large a Jewish population in Rome there

* Philo, *De Legat*, 23.

† Suetonius, *Julius*, 84.

‡ Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 85 ; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 36.

§ The authorities are named in Schürer and Hausrath, and a great number of instructive passages from ancient authors are quoted in full by J. E. B. Mayor in his *Juvenal*, xiv. 96.

was bound to be a constant communication with Jerusalem. Accordingly we find (Acts ii. 10) that "strangers from Rome" were present when Peter for the first time proclaimed Jesus as the Messiah. It is certain that when these Jews returned to Rome they would not be silent regarding what they had heard. But Rome was in communication not only with Jerusalem, but with every other town in which Christ was preached, and intimations of the progress of the new faith must from time to time have reached the city.* Whether Aquila was already a Christian when Paul took up his abode with him at Corinth is uncertain; but that there were Christians in the Rome from which Aquila had recently been expelled may be gathered from the reason which Suetonius assigns for the edict of expulsion. Claudius, he says, "banished the Jews from Rome because they were ceaselessly making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus." This is generally and justly supposed to indicate that the name of Christ had something to do with the Jewish riots, and that it may be concluded there were Christians in Rome at that time.

But the account given in the *Acts* (xxviii. 17) of Paul's reception by the Jews in Rome is such as to make it difficult to suppose that there existed before his arrival any large number of Christians there or any organised Church. The leading Jews had indeed

* Dr. Gifford (*Speaker's Commentary*) quotes a passage from Tacitus (*Annals*, xv. 44) to show that Christians were found in Rome "very soon" after the crucifixion. But in Tacitus there is nothing that represents the words which Dr. Gifford translates "very soon," and underlines.

heard of Paul, but they had received no instructions from the authorities in Jerusalem regarding him. They knew also of the Christian "sect," but from the language they use regarding it, one might suppose they had as yet had no opportunity of observing its character and customs. Apparently they had not become acquainted with his letter to the Roman Christians, and had not been alarmed by any considerable secession from Judaism. And yet their language is quite consistent with their knowledge that some Jews in Rome had accepted Jesus as the Messiah, and probably it would give them very little concern to know that among the multifarious religions of Rome and the daily changes of belief which characterised that period, some of the Gentile population had become Christians. But certainly the language of the leading Jews of Rome to Paul would incline us to believe that the Christians in Rome had been chiefly drawn, not from among the Jews, but from the Gentile population.

The salutations appended to the epistle point to the same conclusion. For while kinsmen of Paul's are mentioned, who must have been pure-blooded Jews, and while others, such as Mary, Aquila and Priscilla, and Apelles, with undoubtedly Jewish names (Hor., *Sat.*, I. v. 100), are greeted, the majority of the names are Gentile and for the most part Greek. At the date of this epistle the active, pushing, and pliable Greek was possessing himself of every remunerative business, of all promising commercial and social activity in the metropolis; so much so that shortly after this time the Roman satirist upbraids

Rome with having become a Greek city (Juv., *Sat.*, iii. 60). It is not surprising then to find that the names in this letter are Greek rather than Latin, that the language used both in this letter and in the earliest literature of the Church of Rome is Greek, and that in the catacombs the Greek characters so often appear in the inscriptions.* The same mingling of Jew and Gentile in the Christian community at Rome is apparent in the substance of the Epistle. Sometimes Paul addresses Jews, as in ii. 17, 27; iv. 1; while at other times Gentiles are explicitly addressed as in xi. 13; xv. 16; i. 13.

It matters little, however, whether we conclude that the Gentiles were in a numerical majority, or (with Sabatier) that the Jews greatly outnumbered them in the Church of Rome. The matter of importance to determine is, the type of Christianity to which they were attached. Did the Pauline or the Jewish-Christian view of the gospel prevail? Lipsius (*Protestantenbibel*) finds that everything in the epistle was meant for Jewish-Christian readers. The writer, he says, "assumes throughout that he is addressing readers of Jewish education, who are also accustomed to the Jewish methods. The hypotheses from which he sets out, the conceptions with which he works, the arguments from the maxims and examples of the Old Testament Scripture, the express appeal to the readers' knowledge of the Law—all this is only intelligible if the Apostle wishes to influence the Jewish-Christian mind. . . . The Pauline gospel can have had

* See Lightfoot's *Philippians*, p. 20.

few if any adherents at that time in Rome, and no doubt even those believers who had been gathered from among the Gentiles were altogether under the influence of the Jewish spirit." Pfleiderer (*Hibbert Lectures*, 139) thinks that the epistle suggests that the relations between the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church were strained, that the healthy development of the Church was thus daily placed in increasing peril, and the more so as through the rapid growth of the Gentile section, the Jewish, which had undoubtedly formed the principal element originally, had sunk into the position of a powerless minority. Even this more moderate statement seems to lay more stress on the strained relations between the two sections of the Church than the epistle warrants. That the majority in the Church was free from Jewish-Christian scrupulosity is apparent from the circumstance that Paul feels called upon to exhort the majority to admit to fellowship the weakly scrupulous believer who observed days and refused to eat what was offered to idols. And it is obvious that had the Church been to any large extent tainted with distinctively Jewish-Christian views, Paul could not have spoken of its members as "full of all goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another" (Rom. xv. 14). There is no evidence in the epistle that there was any anti-Pauline party in the Church. No doubt, such a party might at any time arise. For Jewish-Christianity was merely a one-sided exaggeration of a view of the relation of the Jews to Christ, which must inevitably have suggested itself to every Jewish mind. And certainly this letter

cuts the ground from the Jewish-Christian position by proving that Jews and Gentiles alike are under sin, and alike must be saved by grace. But this is done without any polemical pushing of principles to their issues, or explicit assault upon the Jewish-Christian position such as is found in the Epistle to the Galatians. As Sabatier says: "This epistle marks the precise moment at which polemic naturally resolves itself into dogmatic."

What then is the precise object Paul has in view; what is the aim which determines all the contents of the letter? In substance the letter is a justification of the Apostle's mission to the Gentiles, a justification first to his own mind, and secondly to the Christian community at Rome. He habitually considered himself "the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles" (xv. 16), and among the Gentiles he made no distinctions but recognised that he was bound to carry the gospel to the most highly civilised as well as to the uneducated and rude, or, as he himself puts it, he felt himself to be "debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise." Accordingly he longed to bring the gospel into contact with the world's social and political centre at Rome, for he was "not ashamed of the gospel of Christ" (i. 15, 16). But in thus committing himself to a mission in the West he felt he was taking a new step and was more distinctly than ever giving himself to the Gentiles. It was natural therefore that he should now review the situation and should especially make clear to the Church of the imperial city, the centre of the Gentile world, what his gospel was and how

it was applicable to Gentiles as well as Jews. That this was his object, he himself explicitly affirms (xv. 15, 16), and the letter is accordingly an exposition of the applicability of the gospel to the Gentiles.

This will more clearly appear if we briefly analyse the epistle. He means, he says, to preach the gospel at Rome because he believes it is "the power of God unto salvation," not to one race only, but "to every one that believeth; to the Jew first," in accordance with the providential plan, "but also to the Greek" (i. 16). Christ, that is, is the medium through which God's power to lift men out of moral evil and bring them into perfect correspondence with His own righteousness, is exercised. That this is God's grand purpose with man is apparent from the results of unrighteousness, "the wrath of God is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men" (i. 18). These results the inhabitants of Rome had only too ample opportunity to observe (i. 21—32). But the frightful wickedness of the Gentiles and its punishment were no sufficient reasons for the scorn with which the Jew looked upon them, nor for abandoning them to a hopeless doom. Rather did the scorn with which the Jew looked on the immoral and ignorant Gentiles who knew not the law, reflect upon his own sin against the light of the law. If the Gentile who knew not the law was by his immorality beyond God's mercy, equally or more so was the Jew who knew the law and yet did not observe it. Not the having the law, but the keeping of it, was righteousness; not the circumcision of the flesh, but of the spirit, saves (ii. *passim*). If so, is the Jew righteous

and the Gentile condemned? Alas! the law itself says: "There is none righteous, no, not one;" and what it says it of course says to those who are under the law, to Jews, not to Gentiles. It means, there is no Jew righteous, no, not one (iii. 19). If then, men are to be justified, it cannot be by the Jewish law. Jew and Gentile alike must put away boasting, and on an equal footing of absolute demerit accept God's grace.* Thus was even Abraham justified (c. iv.), righteousness was imputed to him without his meriting God's favour by his works. As he believed God's promise and did not think of earning what He promised, so must we accept the peace offered us in Christ, and not think we can earn it. For it is in Christ God's love and righteousness are now revealed (chap. v.). Neither will our abandonment of the idea we can earn God's blessing make us indifferent to His will or to the attainment of holiness. On the contrary the acceptance of Christ and the Spirit of life that is in Him at last enables us to fulfil the righteousness of the law and to become truly the sons of God, destined to holiness and glory everlasting (chap. vi.—viii.)

But the very triumph Paul feels in depicting a salvation so perfect and so applicable to Gentiles, suggests to him the misery of his own countrymen who reject this salvation, and in chap. ix.—xi. he discusses the reason and the results of this rejection. It was a perplexing circumstance that the Jews who had been specially prepar to receive Christ should

* "Unité et égalité dans le péché, unité et égalité dans la redemption; en ces mots sont résumés et la pensée générale et le plan entier de ce grand ouvrage."—*Sabatier*, 178.

be precisely those who most unanimously rejected Him. What did this mean? Have the Jews no advantage? To a mind like Paul's, craving consistency of thought, this problem came as a demand to form a theory of providence, or, as we should now say, a philosophy of history to solve it. Many of Paul's enemies must have expected him to solve it by saying that the Jew had no advantage over the Gentile, and that his long preparation meant nothing. Many of the Gentiles might suppose that he who had been insulted, beaten, outraged by the Jews, would be careless of their fate. On the contrary, his heart bleeds for them. He would accept any fate for himself, if thereby he could alter the fate they had brought on themselves by their unbelief. He will not suffer the Gentiles to think that the Jews are for ever rejected. Their unbelief has been the occasion of his turning to the Gentiles, if then "the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" (xi. 15). A full and beautiful exhibition of the conduct appropriate to the Christian follows this, and the epistle closes with the usual salutations.

These salutations have given rise to some suspicions regarding the integrity of the epistle. Is it likely that in a Church he had never visited Paul should have had so many friends? And how is it that so many of the names which occur are associated rather with Ephesus than with Rome? It is obvious, however, that these two questions neutralize one another. If some of Paul's Ephesian friends had

been carried by business requirements to Rome, it is not strange that he should name so many. But there are other reasons for doubting the integrity of the epistle. The reader observes that again and again the epistle seems to close, but is re-opened. At xv. 33; xvi. 20, 24, 27 there occur expressions which might stand as terminal. Additional difficulty is raised by the fact that in most cursive MSS. and in one uncial, the doxology (xv. 25—27) is found at the end of chap. xiv. It is found in both places in some important MSS.; and in neither in other MSS. To account for these discrepancies some critics adopt the theory that several editions of the epistle were sent by Paul to different Churches; while other critics suppose that at a later period of his life Paul adapted the epistle to general circulation by omitting the words "in Rome" and by cutting off the last two chapters. For a fuller discussion of these suggestions we must refer to Dr. Gifford's elaborate treatment of them in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans in the *Speaker's Bible.*

EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

When Paul visited Corinth it was the capital of the Roman province of Achaia and the headquarters of the Proconsul. From the earliest times its situation on the isthmus, "the bridge of the untiring sea,"* with its eastern port of Cenchreæ and its western port Lechæum, had given it importance.

* Pindar, *Nem. Odes*, vi.

The ancient ships were small and not very well managed, and sailors bringing goods from Asia to Italy preferred to carry their bales across the narrow neck of land rather than to face the stormy passage round Cape Malea, "of bad fame." So commonly was this done that arrangements were made for conveying the ships themselves across on rollers; and shortly after Paul's visit Nero cut the first turf of an intended, but never finished, canal to connect the two seas.* Towards the southern extremity of the isthmus stood one of the most remarkable natural fortifications in the world, the abrupt, massive rock, nearly 2,000 feet high, known as the Acrocorinthus. It was on a slightly elevated platform at the northern base of this commanding hill that the city was built.

Completely destroyed by the Roman general Mummius in 146 B.C., it was repeopled and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, who, exactly a century after its demolition, colonised it (colonia Julia Corinthus) with Roman veterans and freedmen.† Under these auspices it speedily regained something of its former beauty, all its former wealth, and apparently more than its former size.‡ But the old profligacy was also revived. In Paul's day, "to live as they do at Corinth" was the equivalent for living in luxury and

* Suetonius, *Nero;* Pausanias says, "Where they began to dig is plainly visible, but they did not make much progress because of the rock."

† Hence many of the names of Corinthians in the New Testament are such as indicate a Roman or servile origin—Quartus, Achaicus, Fortunatus, Crispus, Gaius, Justus.

‡ 200,000 freemen and 460,000 slaves.

licentiousness.* Sailors from all parts with a little money to spend, merchants eager to compensate for the privations and hardships of a voyage, refugees, adventurers of all kinds were continually passing through the city, introducing foreign customs and confounding moral distinctions. Too plainly are the engrained vices of the Corinthians reflected in the epistles (1 Cor. v. 1; vi. 9—11; xi. 21). In the letters are also visible reminiscences of what Paul had seen in the Isthmian and gladiatorial contests (1 Cor. ix. 24; iv. 9). He had noted, too, as he walked through Corinth how the fire of the Roman army had consumed all the meaner houses of "wood, hay, stubble," but had been comparatively harmless on the precious marbles (1 Cor. iii. 12).

To the vices of a cosmopolitan sea-port and of a wealthy commercial city Corinth added the restless factiousness of degenerate Greece, and the windy and vain logomachy of an imitative philosophy. Rhetorical displays in which the "wisdom of words" was accepted as final knowledge (ii. 4; viii. 1); subtle but foolish intellectual perplexities (xv. 13, 35); readiness to listen to arguments that tended to sensual and worldly living (xv. 32, 33) were the snares of this mixed and monied population. It is because the Epistles to the Corinthians throw so clear a light on the life of a Christian Church formed out of so unpromising a society that they become, as Weizsäcker has called them, "a fragment which has no parallel in ecclesiastical history." "We are here and (as far as

* See Wetstein on 1 Cor. i. 2. "*Ecclesia Dei in Corintho*, lætum et ingens paradoxon." *Bengel.*

the epistles are concerned) here only, allowed to witness the earliest conflict of Christianity with the culture and the vices of the ancient classical world; here we have an insight, it may be only by glimpses, into the principles which regulated the Apostle's choice or rejection of the customs of that vast fabric of heathen society which was then emphatically called 'the world'; here we trace the mode in which he combated the false pride, the false knowledge, the false liberality, the false freedom, the false display, the false philosophy* to which an intellectual age, especially in a declining nation, is constantly liable; here more than anywhere else in his writings his allusions and illustrations are borrowed not merely from Jewish customs and feelings, but from the literature, the amusements, the education, the worship of Greece and Rome. It is the Apostle of the Gentiles, as it were, in his own peculiar sphere—in the midst of questions evoked by his own peculiar mission—watching over Churches of his own creation, . . . feeling that on the success of his work then, the whole success and value of his past and future work depended."†

How Paul founded the Church at Corinth is recorded in Acts xviii. 1—18. The edict of Claudius expelling the Jews from Rome would seem to have been enacted shortly before Paul's visit (Acts xviii. 2), and Gallio seems to have entered on his proconsulship when Paul had already been eighteen

* See i. 17; iii. 4, 18—23; iv. 7—13; vi. 12—20; viii. 1—7; xii., xiv., xv. 35—41.

† Stanley's *Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 4. The whole introduction should be read.

months in Corinth (Acts xviii. 11, 12), but unfortunately, though it is probable that the edict of Claudius belongs to the year 52 A.D., neither date can be exactly determined. The probability is that Paul remained in Corinth part of the year 52, the whole of 53, and part of 54. During the first eighteen months of his stay a large number (ver. 10) of the Corinthians accepted his gospel, and many of them, being of quick intellect, must have made marked attainment under this continuous and weighty teaching. But the jealous Jews, thinking that the new proconsul, the "dulcis Gallio," would wish to make favour with all parties in his new province, bring Paul before him. They are met with a decided rebuff. A question or two shows that this is a matter over which he has no jurisdiction, and he orders his lictors to clear the court. After this victory Paul remains some time longer (ver. 18, "yet a good while"), and then goes to Jerusalem, viâ Ephesus and Cæsarea, probably to be present at Pentecost, 54 A.D. After celebrating the feast he goes to Antioch, where he spends "some time" (ver. 23), and then, having visited Galatia, Phrygia and "the upper coasts," strengthening the Churches, he at length reaches Ephesus where he remains for nearly three years. Apparently, therefore, it was late in 54, or early in 55, when he reached Ephesus. At this time Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew with exceptional knowledge of the Old Testament and power of expression, who had reasoned powerfully with the Ephesian Jews, was labouring in Corinth and the whole of Achaia, and exercising a most powerful influence there, especially among the Jews. Every-

thing, therefore, seemed to promise well for the Church at Corinth. But before very long old habits and the customs of heathen society proved too strong for some of the recent converts, who fell back into Greek vice. This scandalised the purer portion of the Church, who communicated with Paul and asked his advice. He wrote to them that they must not associate with fornicators, covetous persons, extortioners, or idolaters. To this epistle reference is made in 1 Cor. v. 9, 10.* They replied that Corinthian society was wholly formed of such persons, not apprehending that by "not keeping company" he meant not acknowledging as Christians and associating in worship, and with this reply they laid before him a number of other difficulties (1 Cor. vii. 1; viii. 1; xii. 1, etc.). This, together with the oral information† he had received from

* Two epistles, professing to be the lost first of Paul to the Corinthians, and that of the Corinthians to Paul, and received as canonical by the Armenian Church, have been published and translated several times. The most complete translation is that of Lord Byron and Father Aucher. The epistles are given in Stanley's *Corinthians*, ii. (Appendix). They are undoubtedly spurious.

† Much has been written on the parties in the Church of Corinth. The opinions of Baur, Holsten, Renan, and others are cited in the commentaries. A well-arranged digest will be found in Godet, 1 *Corinthians, in loc*:—It is apparent from the epistle that the adhesion of certain members to Paul, others to Apollos, and so on, was in the meanwhile productive rather of bitter feeling than of fixed doctrinal differences. Paul was certainly not afraid that the teaching of Apollos would do the Corinthians harm, for he was extremely anxious that he should return to Corinth. And to all appearance the other parties were, at the date of the first epistle, insignificant, for it is to the Apollos party alone that he addresses himself in its early

members of Chloe's household who had come to Ephesus (1 Cor. i. 11), calls forth the first extant epistle.

In this epistle, then, we see the kind of work which was required of one on whom lay the care of all the Churches. A host of difficult questions poured in upon him, questions regarding conduct, questions of casuistry, questions about the ordering of public worship and about social intercourse. Are we to dine with our heathen relatives? May we intermarry with them; may we marry at all? Can slaves continue in the service of heathen masters? Can we restrain

chapters. The second epistle, however, indicates both that the Christ party had grown more formidable, and that its tenets were dangerous. From 2 Cor. x. 7—xii. 18 it would appear that the Christ party was formed and led by men who prided themselves on their Hebrew descent (xi. 22), and on having learned their Christianity not from Paul, Apollos, or Cephas, but from Christ Himself (1 Cor. i. 12 with 2 Cor. x. 7), These men came to Corinth with letters of commendation (2 Cor. iii. 1) probably from Palestine, as they had known Jesus; but not from the Apostles in Jerusalem, for they separated themselves from the Petrine party in Corinth. They claimed to be apostles of Christ (2 Cor. xi. 13), and "ministers of righteousness" (xi. 15), but as they taught "another Jesus," "another spirit," and "another gospel" (xi. 4), Paul does not hesitate to denounce them as "false apostles" (xi. 13) and ironically to hold them up as "out-and-out apostles" (*ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλοι*). Probably therefore they were Judaisers. Godet is not to be followed in his idea that they were "gnostics before gnosticism." Weiss is throughout satisfactory (*Einleitung*, 197 sqq.). It is especially important to notice what Beyschlag was the first to bring clearly out, that "the very existence in Corinth of a Cephas party, expressly distinguished from the Jewish-Christian opponents of the Apostle, and evidently regarded by Paul (iii. 22) as being in no material opposition to himself, shows most clearly that the primitive apostles themselves did not stand in hostile relation to Paul."

those who speak with tongues, or must we allow all who are inclined to speak at once? But it was not the delicacy of answering these questions which caused the tears to fill Paul's eyes as he wrote this letter (2 Cor. ii. 4). It was the self-satisfied vanity that shone through even their request for advice (viii. 1), the evidence which some of their difficulties bore to the working of a restless Greek intellectualism (xv. 35), and litigiousness (vi. 1—11), and of a potent residuum of Corinthian sensuality (vi. 16; x. 8; xi. 21), and above all, the news that had reached him of their factious spirit, and of their retaining in their communion, to the scandal even of their heathen neighbours, a man who had married his father's wife, and of their glorying in this spurious liberality (v. 2, 6)—it was this which excited in Paul's mind the deepest misgivings regarding the future of the Church. But repressing his feelings of indignation and sorrow he writes the most lucid and complete of his epistles, taking up point by point the questions they had raised, and replying with a decided and broad exposition of Christian principles invaluable to all time. The brevity and yet completeness with which intricate practical problems are discussed, the unerring firmness with which through all plausible sophistry and fallacious scruples the radical principle is laid hold of, and the sharp finality with which it is expressed, reveal not merely the bright-eyed sagacity and thorough Christian feeling of Paul, but also his measureless intellectual vigour; while such a passage as the thirteenth chapter betrays that strong and sane imagination which can hold in view a wide field of

human life, and the fifteenth rises from a basis of keen cut and solidly laid reasoning to the most dignified and stirring eloquence. It was a happy circumstance for the future of Christianity that in these early days, when there were almost as many wild suggestions and foolish opinions as there were converts, there should have been this one clear practical judgment, the embodiment of Christian wisdom.

There can be no doubt that 1 Corinthians was written shortly before Paul left Ephesus. His own words (xvi. 8) are conclusive on that point. He had sent Timothy to Corinth that he might more fully answer the questions asked, and expound Paul's teaching (1 Cor. iv. 17). But Timothy was not to go direct to Corinth, but through Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), so that the letter might reach Corinth before Timothy (1 Cor. xvi. 10). But Paul himself must have left Ephesus a very short time after Timothy, for (Acts xix. 22, 23) at that juncture the riot which compelled him to flee broke out. Sometime in the spring of 58* this first epistle was written; and it may have been carried by the three Corinthians who had come to visit Paul (xvi. 17), certainly not by Timothy.

Bleek, followed by several scholars, supposes a second visit of Paul to Corinth between the first visit and our first epistle. Godet supposes a second visit, but places it in an apparently impossible position, after the first epistle and prior to his wintering in Corinth after passing through Macedonia. That this

* Godet says 57. Holtzmann (p. 244) 58. See the chronology fully examined in Beet's *Corinthians*, Diss. III.

supposed visit could not have occurred between the writing of the first and second Epistles is evident from his still defending himself in the second epistle (i. 15—17) against the charge of lightly changing his mind, which had been brought against him because he had intended to visit Corinth before going to Macedonia and had not done so. Already in the first epistle he had given up this intention, plainly telling the Corinthians (xvi. 7) that he would not now see them on his way to Macedonia, and justifying his doing so (ver. 9) by the urgency of the work in Ephesus, and by his sending an efficient substitute, Timothy (ver. 10, "even as I"), in his place. It appears from 2 Cor. i. 23 that he had also another reason for not visiting Corinth; he could not bear to go "with a rod," to find fault and to punish. Now as there are in the first epistle allusions to his founding the Church, but none to any second visit, and as there is plainly no room for a visit between the first and the second letters, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to find any place for a visit between the first epistle and his arrival in Corinth to winter there. Besides, in 2 Cor. i. 15, he himself speaks of the visit he had not yet been able to pay as his "second" visit.

But what then is to be made of the passages in the second epistle which seem to imply that a second visit had been made before it was written (ii. 1; xii. 14; xii. 21; xiii. 1, 2)? To interpret these passages fairly we must remember the important place which Paul's intended visit occupied both in his own mind and in the mind of the Corinthian Church. It had exposed him to the accusation of fickleness and vacil-

lation, of lightly promising and lightly breaking his promise, of making his "yea" and "nay" equivalents (2 Cor. i. 17). This accusation seemed to him so serious, and to reflect so injuriously on his truthfulness as a preacher, that he calls "God to witness on his soul" (i. 23) that his apology was true. Now considering the important place this unfulfilled intention occupied in his mind and in his correspondents' mind, it is not surprising that when he speaks of his present intention to visit Corinth he should say, "This third time I am coming to you" (xiii. 1). His meaning is, "This third time I am intending to visit you." And that his words must be so understood becomes apparent when we pass to the next verse, in which he says, "I tell you before I come, and as if I were already present with you a second time, though indeed I am still absent," etc. Had he already visited Corinth twice he must of necessity have said, "as if I were already present a third time."*

The date of 2 Corinthians is also easily ascertainable, abounding as it does in allusions to the writer's movements and relations to his correspondents. Driven from Ephesus, where he had barely escaped with his life (i. 8—10), Paul went to Troas (ii. 12), expecting to find Titus there with news from Corinth. Disappointed in this, and fearing that delay on the part of Titus might mean a condition of things in Corinth even more disastrous than he had supposed, he has no heart to proceed with his work in Troas, but presses on to Macedonia (ii. 13), where he was always

* Stanley thinks this second epistle is counted as the second visit.

among friends. Here at length Titus met him (vii. 6) and communicated reassuring news. It seems that Paul had "boasted" to Titus (vii. 14) of the results of the gospel in Corinth, and this boasting was verified by what Titus saw of their true affection for Paul (vii. 7), their distress that they had provoked such a letter as 1st Corinthians (vii. 8, 9), and their kindness and obedience to him as Paul's representative (vii. 15). Paul's anxiety was therefore in the main relieved by hearing from Titus that the great body of the Corinthian Church was faithful to his gospel, and he at once writes to express his thankfulness for this, and so to pave the way for his approaching visit. There was, however, the more urgency for writing because Titus had evidently given him a fuller account of the "Christ party," and the mischief they were working. The second epistle is therefore separated from the first only by two or three months, possibly not so much, and was written from Macedonia while Paul was on his way to Corinth.

The first part of the second epistle is accordingly occupied with an endeavour to remove any soreness which might linger in the minds of the Corinthian Christians on account of his visiting Macedonia before visiting Corinth. He gives some account of his own movements and lets them see how glad he is that they should have taken his letter in good part, and been profited both by it and by the visit of Titus. Parenthetically (ii. 14—vi. 10) he indulges in an eloquent panegyric of the gospel, pointing out how in every place it approved itself a savour of life, how by its very nature as a ministration of righteousness

it excelled the law in glory, and how even when he proclaimed it in dangers and distresses, bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, the life and present power of Jesus were made manifest in him. He then (vi. 11) recurs to the condition of the Corinthian Church, and urges the necessity of dealing vigorously with scandalous sins, even though this should cause them sorrow. For, as he is forward to acknowledge (vii. 8—11), their sorrow at being blamed by him in his first epistle for holding fellowship with scandalous sinners had incited them to clear themselves of all cause of blame. He then praises them for their liberality in collecting for the Jerusalem poor (viii. and ix.). In chapter x. he passes to the painful part of his letter, the exposure of the leaders of the Christ-party and the vindication of his own authority. But he writes this straightforward and powerful passage (x.—xiii.) in order that when he comes he may not require to mar the pleasure of their meeting by such denunciatory language (xiii. 10).

As the authenticity of these epistles is universally admitted the early witnesses need not be cited. It is interesting, however, to find that Clement of Rome, in writing to the Church of Corinth, probably about the year 96, uses the following language: "Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What at first did he write to you in the beginning of the gospel? In fact, he wrote spiritually to you both about himself and Cephas and Apollos," etc. (Clem., *Ep.* xlvii.). The internal evidence is also very strong. There are so many allusions to Paul's movements, so many expressions of personal feeling that forgery is out of

the question. Besides, as Mr. Beet very justly remarks, the exposure which the epistles make of the condition of the Corinthian Church is strongly in favour of their genuineness, for "no Church would accept without careful scrutiny so public a monument of its degradation."

NOTE.—The arguments which Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung*, 281 seqq.) adduces to prove that Paul had written a letter between our 1 and 2 Corinthians are plausible. Timothy had returned to Paul before 2 Corinthians was written (i. 1), and yet in this letter no allusion is made to the effects of his visit to Corinth or to the news he brought. Again Paul speaks (ii. 4) of having written in tears and anguish to the Corinthians, but in our first epistle there is no trace of such disturbance of mind. And especially the terms in which Paul speaks (ii. 5—11) of the offender in the Church of Corinth are not so applicable to the incestuous person as to some one who had personally attacked Paul. The reasons on the other side seem, however, insurmountable. Paul is still excusing himself for not visiting them on his way to Macedonia. This brings the second epistle into very close connection with the first. Further, there is no allusion to the Petrine party or to the Christ party in the first part of the epistle, in which alone the Corinthian offender is present to Paul's mind. On the contrary, the whole passage (vi. 11 to vii. 12) shows beyond dispute that the offence was a moral one. And when the strength of denunciation employed by Paul in 1 Cor. v. is taken into account his strong expressions in the second epistle are quite intelligible.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

Of all the epistles of Paul this alone is addressed, not to an individual or to a single Church, but to a group of churches ("unto the Churches of Galatia," i. 2). It is not possible to determine with precision in what towns these Churches were situated. But

the three principal tribes of Galatians, the Trocmi, the Tolistobogii, and the Tectosages had each a chief town, named respectively Tavium, Pessinus, and Ancyra, and it is not unlikely that in each of these there was a Christian community. Some writers (Hausrath, Renan, and others) have sought the Churches addressed by Paul in the Roman province called Galatia (formed 26 B.C.), which embraced Lycaonia, Isauria, and parts of Phrygia and Pisidia. But it is much more likely that when Galatia is spoken of in the Acts and here the old geographical division is intended. Certainly in the Acts (xiii. 14; xiv. 6, 24; xvi. 6) Lycaonia, Pisidia and Phrygia are spoken of as if they were distinct from Galatia. The region in which we are to seek for these Churches is therefore the rich country crossed by the river Halys (Kizil-Irmak), and separated from the Black Sea by Bithynia and Paphlagonia, while to the east of it lie Pontus and Cappadocia, and south and west Phrygia. The population of this country was mixed. The Galatians, from whom it was named, had been called in during the third century B.C. to aid Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and received as pay a part of his territory. They belonged to that great and migratory stock which had overrun western Europe, and was known indifferently by three names, Celtæ, Galatæ, Galli. (The Romans confined the name Galatæ to the Celts of Asia Minor). Whether they were of Germanic origin (as Wieseler, Holsten, Davidson, etc., think)* or of Celtic origin is uncertain. The theory

* S. Hilgenfeld, 251; Holsten, *Prot. Bibel;* Holtzmann, 235; Davidson, i. 71.

which advocates their Germanic origin places considerable dependence upon a statement made by Jerome in the preface to his Commentary on the epistle: "Besides the Greek, which is spoken throughout the East, the Galatians use as their native tongue a language almost identical with that of the Treveri." The Treveri, it is affirmed, spoke a German dialect. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 235) discusses the question fully, and concludes that the Galatian settlers were genuine Celts belonging to the Cymric subdivision of that great race. But besides these invading Celts many Greeks were scattered through Galatia, and since the Roman occupation many of the governing race were to be found at the various centres of business. Jews also had been attracted to the country by its commercial advantages, and in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, or pillar which Augustus caused to be fixed in his temple at Ancyra, the rights and privileges extended to the Jews are recorded.*

By far the strongest element in this mixed population was the Celtic. Modern travellers assert that even now the Celtic type of face is recognisable in Galatia. And in the Galatians of Paul's letter this type of character is distinctly recognisable. The characteristics of the Celtic race were frequently remarked upon by ancient writers,† their drunkenness, their niggardliness, their vanity and quarrelsomeness, their impressibility and quickness of apprehension, their inquisitive, eager and fickle disposition. All these features are readily traced in the Galatians of Paul's

* Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvi. 6, 2.

† See the passages in Lightfoot's *Galatians*, pp. 13—16.

epistle (v. 21; vi. 6, 7; v. 15, 26: i. 6, etc.). What Michelet says * of the French might equally be said of them: "The foundation of the French people is the youthful, soft, and mobile race of the Gaels, *bruyante*, sensual, and *légère*, prompt to learn, prompt to despise, and greedy of new things." And in reading the epistle it is especially necessary to remember the remark of Cæsar, that the whole race is excessively devoted to religious observances. "Settled among the Phrygians, they with their wonted facility adopted the religion of the subject people. The worship of Cybele, with its wild ceremonial and hideous mutilations, would naturally be attractive to the Gaulish mind." It was this craving for a sensuous ritual which made Paul's converts among them an easy prey to the Judaizing teachers, who pressed upon them circumcision and the observance of Sabbaths and new moons.

The first preaching of Christianity to the Galatians is not narrated in the Book of Acts. That Paul, with Silas and Timothy, passed through Galatia while prosecuting his second missionary journey we learn from Acts xvi. 6. And it would appear as if even then he had not contemplated any prolonged effort to found a Christian Church; but being delayed by illness (Gal. iv. 13), his fervid spirit seized the opportunity to preach the gospel. The effect seems to have been immediate and memorable. Far from despising the "contemptible" bodily presence, rendered more contemptible by disease (Gal. iv. 14), they

* Mill's *Dissertations*, ii. 146.

were deeply moved, and showed the Apostle the most touching attentions (iv. 15). And when he left them they were "running well" (v. 7), promising to be foremost in the Christian race.* But with characteristic fickleness† their ardour was soon cooled, so that when, after more than two years' absence Paul returned, he found symptoms of alienated affection and weariness in well-doing. This second visit was made while he was on his way from Jerusalem to Ephesus in the year 54 (Acts xviii. 23). Echoes of the emphatic warnings which he had found occasion to give on this second visit are found in the epistle (i. 9, and iv. 16).‡ But though no doubt his presence "stablished" (Acts xviii. 23) the waverers, more serious dangers threatened the Galatian Churches after his departure. And the letter he addressed to them for the purpose of guarding them against these dangers leaves no doubt as to their nature. The Galatians were being persuaded that if they would be Chris-

* "The Galatians we may suppose to have been a Gentile Church which was first converted to Christianity by St. Paul, but previous to its conversion had gone through a phase of Judaism."—*Jowett*, i. 234. But Hilgenfeld (252-3) proves that the converts were from heathenism.

† For some suggestive remarks on Celtic theologians and Celtic Churches, see Macgregor's *Galatians*, 19, 20; and Stokes, *Celtic Church in Ireland*, 63.

‡ It should however be mentioned that many careful critics, such as Davidson, De Wette, Bleek, and Warfield, are of opinion that the inroads of the Judaizers began only after the second visit. This opinion is founded chiefly on the evidence the epistle affords of the surprise awakened in Paul's mind on receiving the information regarding the altered views of the Galatians.

tians they must be circumcised and keep the Jewish law.

How this serious danger had so rapidly emerged does not distinctly appear from the letter. There is no evidence that emissaries from the Judaizing party in Palestine were at work in Galatia. That Paul at least did not know of any such individuals is apparent from his exclamation (iii. 1), "Who hath bewitched you?" The question of the relation of Gentile Christians to the Mosaic law was one which was sure to emerge in every Church in which there were Jewish Christians. The easy solution of the question, or its elevation into a matter of discussion and party strife, depended on the amount of sagacity and charity, and also on the proportion of the Jewish element in each community. In the arguments of the Judaizers, who maintained that the Gentiles must be circumcised and observe the law, there was much that was most plausible. The law was a divine institution, and could not be neglected; the promises were given solely to the Jews, to Abraham, and to his seed; the Messiah was the Messiah of the Jews, and those who desired to enter His kingdom must become Jews; Jesus was Himself circumcised, and kept the whole law; the original Apostles did the same; and if the Gentile converts were not to be required to keep the law how could they be emancipated from the immoralities in which they were enslaved? These arguments told everywhere, and had they entirely prevailed, Christianity must have dwindled into a shortlived Jewish sect. This was Paul's fear. He heard that the Galatians were being moved by these arguments, and

the Judaizing emissaries in Galatia had also insinuated that though Paul preached another gospel, he was not one of the original Apostles, but was an unauthorised interloper, whose gospel had been picked up no one knew where.* Besides, Paul himself was not consistent. He had caused Timothy to be circumcised; and if he exempted the Galatians, it was that he might curry favour with them. Paul saw that this attempt to uphold the obligation of the Mosaic law endangered the very soul of Christianity, the sufficiency of Christ alone. If the law as well as Christ was necessary, if the Gentiles must receive something more than Christ, then Christ was not sufficient.

Never was there a more compact and effective elucidation of an important question than is furnished in the epistle which Paul wrote at this crisis to the Galatians. The three elements in the assault—the disparagement of his apostleship, the elevation of Judaism to the same rank as Christianity, the insinuation that liberty meant licence—are met in order, the first occupying Paul in the first and second chapters, the second in iii. and iv., and the third in v. and vi. To the disparagement of his apostleship he has a threefold reply. First, he asserts himself as "an Apostle, not of men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ" (i. 1), and by a simple narrative of his movements he shows that he was not taught his gospel by man, "but

* Hilgenfeld says they represented Paul "as a kind of ecclesiastical Demagogue." His evidence that the Judaizers were from beyond Galatia (p. 254) is not sufficient, though it is quite probable that was the case.

by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (i. 12). Second, when it became apparent that his gospel was one which exempted the Gentiles from the burdens to which the Jews clung, and when his right to preach such a gospel was called in question, he went up to Jerusalem and, with the meekness of a man who felt his responsibility and was seeking not his own reputation but solely the good of men and the recognition of the truth, he consulted those "which were of reputation" (ii. 2). The result was that these highly esteemed Apostles at Jerusalem "added nothing" (ii. 6) to his gospel, but "gave him the right hand of fellowship" (ii. 9), and encouraged him to go to the Gentiles. Third, and most convincing of all, when Peter came to Antioch he, with his native frankness and remembering the vision at Joppa, eat with the Gentiles, which no Jew who stood upon his Judaism would have done. This, to Paul's mind, seemed to yield the whole question, for, as he afterwards told Peter, if he himself being a Jew neglected the strictest Jewish regulations he could not possibly require one who was not a Jew to observe them. Peter stood convicted by his own act, and was rebuked by Paul accordingly—proof that both his gospel and his apostleship were valid.

In dealing with the dogmatic significance of the Judaizing demand that the Gentiles should be circumcised, and should observe the Jewish law, Paul first of all (iii. 2) appeals to their own experience. They had received the Spirit; that is, they had the earnest and germ of all salvation and blessedness: how then had they received this? There could only

be one answer: "by the hearing of faith," and not by the works of the law. Again, look at the typical justified man, Abraham, the friend of God and father of the Jewish race. It was not by works but by faith he was justified, and similarly all his seed. In fact the law has only power to curse, for no man can fancy that he is not condemned when the law says, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them" (iii. 10). And most forcible argument of all, the promise was given to Abraham and could not be made of none effect by the law "which was four hundred and thirty years after." If men inherited God's blessing and fellowship by the keeping of the law, then the promise was useless. And if any one suggested that if this is so then the law is profitless, Paul replies that it serves a great purpose. Through all these years it had shown men the holiness of God and the righteousness He requires. It taught them at once to aspire and made them feel their sin. It disclosed to them as somehow to be attained by them, as that which they were commanded to attain and responsible for not attaining, a beauty of holiness they could not have conceived without it, and would not have thought possible, and thus it prepared them for salvation from sin in Christ. The work of the law was thus a preparatory work which became needless when Christ came; as needless as the training of the child is when the training has done its work and made a man of him. For Christians to observe the Mosaic ordinances and live in Judaism is as absurd as for a grown man to be led about by a pædagogue.

After clinching his dogmatic exposition by an appeal

to their instinctive sense of the rectitude of his conduct in throwing aside all Jewish scruples for their sake and by quoting against them, out of the very law they were trusting to, an allegory which showed how the slave must always be extruded from the father's house by the freeborn child, he passes in the fifth chapter to vindicate the liberty which the Spirit gives against all aspersions. Faith, he says, works by love, and where you have love the law will be fulfilled. The Spirit upholds and guides those who believe, and the proof that they are believers is that they do not walk after the flesh.

It is only by a blundering interpretation that the Tübingen critics can find in this epistle a foothold for their favourite idea of an opposition between Paul and the older Apostles. Paul's narrative of his own appeal to them, and of his receiving the right hand of fellowship from Peter, James and John shows that there was no irreconcileable difference between them. The older Apostles occupied a middle position between the Judaizers and Paul. The Judaizers insisted that only by passing through Judaism could any, Jew or Gentile, become a Christian. All must be circumcised and must keep the whole law. Paul occupied the position at the other extreme, maintaining that neither for Jew nor Gentile was the Mosaic law any longer needful. The older Apostles occupied the middle ground, continuing to observe the law themselves but deeming it unnecessary to exact from the Gentiles any such observance. They felt it to be becoming in themselves as Jews to maintain their old customs, but they did not reckon circumcision or any

of the observances to which circumcision pledged Jew and proselyte as necessary to salvation. They did not feel justified in interposing even the law of Moses between the human soul and Christ. In this middle party there were, however, minor differences, Peter apparently supposing that although himself a Jew he need not punctiliously observe the Mosaic regulations, while James (Gal. ii. 12) thought it expedient that as Jews they should observe all their old law, or at any rate, the authority of James was quoted in favour of this view.

The date of this important epistle is uncertain. It is either placed, as Lightfoot (p. 40) places it, "in the winter or spring of the years 57, 58 A.D.," in which case it must have been written from Macedonia or Achaia; or it is placed before the first epistle to the Corinthians, in which case it was dated from Ephesus. But, as Professor Warfield (*Journal of Exegetical Society*, paper read December, 1884), says, "The plain fact is that this epistle is unique among Paul's letters in its entire lack of any allusion, capable of easy interpretation, to the Apostle's circumstances and surroundings at the time when he wrote it." The absence of such allusions, especially the absence of salutations from members of the Ephesian Church, might be thought rather to indicate that he was not writing from that great centre. His uniting with himself (i. 2) "All the brethren which are with me," would very well suit the idea that he was on a journey while writing. Those who advocate the earlier date have generally laid stress upon the suddenness of the Galatian declension: "I marvel that you are *so soon*

removed from Him that called you" (i. 6). Warfield does not press this, but finds some support for the view in one or two apparent allusions to the state of matters in Galatia which are to be found by a careful reader of 1 Corinthians. It would appear from 1 Cor. xvi. 1 that Paul's authority was acknowledged, and that he was again on good terms with the Churches in Galatia. Also when Paul in 1 Cor. ix. 2, says, "If to others I am not an apostle, yet to you at least I am," there is some plausibility in the assertion that the Galatians were in his thoughts, and that already their disparagement of his apostleship was known to him. On the other hand, if the Epistle to the Galatians had been written very shortly before the first Epistle to the Corinthians it is extremely unlikely that Paul should not have spoken more strongly of the parties at Corinth than he does in his first epistle, and that he should not have more fully unfolded the error of the Christ party than he did in the second epistle. We find that the Galatian Judaizers had thoroughly aroused his apprehensions, and brought into the strongest relief in his mind the doctrines of grace, and these are in the subsequent Epistle to the Romans still more fully unfolded. Had *Galatians* preceded *Corinthians* we should have found in the latter Epistle more evident traces of the explicit and full doctrine of freedom from the law which the Galatian disturbance had compelled him to formulate.

NOTE.—For comparison of the language of these epistles, see Jowett, Lightfoot, and Speaker's *Com. on Gal.*

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

As we read this epistle, which bears to be from Paul "to the saints which are at Ephesus," two difficulties emerge. From Acts (xviii. 19; xix. 8, 13—16) we know that in the Church of Ephesus there were Jews. But this epistle is manifestly addressed to Gentiles (ii. 11—19; iii. 1 and *passim*). We also know, from the same source, that Paul spent more than two years at Ephesus, and must have had many personal friends among the Ephesian Christians. So must Timothy and Aristarchus, who had been with him in that city (Acts xix. 29; 1 Cor. iv. 17), and were now with him in Rome. But not only does Paul depart from his usual practice and abstain from sending any personal salutations to the Ephesians; but in the letter he speaks of them as if they were strangers who still required proof of his apostleship (iii. 2—4).

But we find that in the earliest times there was some doubt as to the destination of this epistle. Tertullian tells us that Marcion called it "the Epistle to the Laodiceans;" and there was apparently in Tertullian's own mind a suspicion that Marcion might be right.* Basil tells us that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ,

* Tertullian's words are worth quoting: "We have it on the true tradition of the Church that this Epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans. Marcion, however, was very desirous to interpolate the title, as if he were extremely accurate in investigating the point [diligentissimus explorator]. But of what consequence are the titles, since in writing to a certain Church the Apostle did in fact write to all?"—*Adv. Marcion.*, v. 17.

were omitted in the most ancient MSS. And this is true of the two oldest MSS. in our hands, the Sinaitic and the Vatican.* The suggestion of Beza and Ussher that it might be intended as a circular letter to the Churches of the proconsular province of Asia has accordingly found favour with many critics. This supposition indeed satisfies all the facts of the case. "An epistle addressed to a plurality of Churches might either be written so as to dispense with any local address, or it might have a blank space, to be filled up in each case with a different local address." † In the former case the epistle would be addressed "to the saints who are also believing," which is clumsy and inappropriate.‡ In the latter case a copy of the letter could be made for each Church it was brought to and the name of that Church inserted. This may also account for the absence of the usual signature by Paul himself. That signature could not be repeated in the copies.

Another fact which throws light on the destination of this epistle is Paul's instructions to the Colossians (iv. 16) to send to Laodicea the letter he had addressed to them, and also to "read the epistle from Laodicea." This "epistle from Laodicea" was plainly an epistle written by Paul. But it cannot have been addressed particularly and exclusively to Laodicea, else Paul could not have requested the Colossians to greet the Laodicean Church and particular members of it.

* Inserted by later hand in Vatican.

† Westcott and Hort, *Greek Test.*, Ap. 124.

‡ Credner; see also Weiss (*Einleit.*, 260-2), who is not so satisfactory on this point as he generally is.

Such greetings would have been sent direct had Paul been writing to them exclusively. It must in fact have been a letter of a general character, such as that to the Ephesians. May it not then have been that letter itself? Paul knew that in passing from Ephesus to Colossæ Tychicus must go through Laodicea, and he did not wish to ignore the Church there. He writes a letter, therefore, which will equally benefit Ephesians, Laodiceans, and Colossians, and bids Tychicus carry it to the three Churches, while he instructs the Colossians to receive it "from Laodicea."

For a circular letter no subject could be more appropriate than the unity of the Church. Unity is the key to this epistle: the unity of the Church with God, the unity of the two great sections of the Christian Church, the unity of the members of the Church Catholic. "In Christ all things, both which are in heaven and which are in earth are gathered together in one" (i. 10). This is God's eternal purpose, hid from former ages (iii. 5), but now made known (iii. 5, 9). To reconcile all things to God—that is the purpose which has in all ages been running on to fulfilment. In this purpose men are included, "chosen in Christ to be holy" (i. 4), "predestinated unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself," received into the closest and truest fellowship with God. Through Christ this purpose of God is fulfilled, for as in the *Epistle to Colossians* he had said that "in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," so now he says that as Christ is as it were the body and fulness of God, the Church is "Christ's body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all"

(i. 23). In reconciling Jew and Gentile alike to God, he has reconciled them to one another, "making of twain *one* new man" (ii. 15) and giving "both access through *one* spirit unto the Father." In order to come into this true reconciliation with God and be "filled with all the fulness of God" (iii. 19), Christ must dwell in the heart by faith till the sovereignty and dominion of His love over all things be in some measure understood (iii. 17—20). As soon as Churches and members of Churches recognise that "there is one body and one spirit, even as they are called in one hope of their calling, one Lord, one faith," etc. (iv. 4—6), they are ashamed of bitterness, wrangling, fraud, and feel themselves dignified and enlarged, as belonging, not to a small sect, but to the Church catholic. The practical injunctions which follow are ruled by two ideas. The idea of unity excludes lying, "speak every man truth with his neighbour; for we are members one of another" (iv. 25). Anger, stealing, foul conversation, are also excluded by the law that binds us to do and to say what may minister to those about us (iv. 29). The idea that the radical relationships of life are pure also plays its part. In opposition to the Gnostic asceticism, which taught that these relationships must be abjured if men would be holy, Paul shows that in these relationships the highest Christian grace, the very love which Christ bore to men, is to be cultivated.

But this explicit exhibition of the unity of the Church has been turned into an argument against the authenticity of the epistle. Thus Baur asserts that we are carried in this epistle "to that period

when the Christian Church was coming to realise herself and achieve her unity."* "We have thus before us a state of affairs which lies beyond the standpoint of the Apostle Paul." It is impossible that Baur should admit the genuineness of this epistle, for in point of fact it upsets his whole theory of the growth of the Christian Church. The reader who comes to the epistle without a theory which compels him to pronounce it un-Pauline, will see in it evidence that Paul's strife with the Judaizers, so far as Asia was concerned, was over.

Baur also considers that the epistle contains Gnostic and Montanistic ideas and expressions.† But the chief argument against the genuineness of this letter is that which is founded on the similarity existing between it and *Colossians*. De Wette ‡ affirms that it "stands in such dependence on the Epistle to the Colossians as to be scarcely more than a verbose amplification of the same. . . . Such a transcription of himself is unworthy of an Apostle and must therefore be the work of an imitator. The style . . . is un-Pauline, being diffuse, loaded with parenthetic and secondary clauses, somewhat disconnected, verbose, and wanting in new thoughts." But this apparent dependence has been by some critics reversed. Mayerhoff gives reason for his belief that *Colossians* is dependent on *Ephesians*; while Holtzmann has shown that the balance of dependence is equal, and that the

* *Paul*, ii. 38; cf. Davidson, ii. 213.

† Refuted by Reuss, *History*, 117; who gives also the best account of the connection of these epistles.

‡ *Introd.*, 277.

two epistles are mutually indebted. De Wette's comparison of the two is somewhat mechanical. He sets side by side the verses and phrases in which they agree. So far as this method goes, it is perfectly wrought out by De Wette, whose tables are most useful. But in examining the coincidence of the epistles the first thing that strikes a reader is that the subject of the one is quite different from that of the other. It is incipient Gnosticism which is present to the Apostle's mind in the one; the unity of the Church Catholic and its place in God's eternal purpose which he treats in the other. But writing these epistles on the same day or in the same week, that they might be sent by the same messenger, as a matter of course the same ideas and the same expressions find place in the two. The forger who proposed to fill his mind with the ideas of the Colossians and by the help of these ideas to treat a wholly different subject, would find he had set for himself an uncommonly difficult task. Whereas, supposing that one man wrote these two epistles at the same time, it was impossible he should not have used the same great ideas and the same expressions. The ideas which the epistles have in common are those which were suggested to Paul by the Colossian heresy, the supremacy of Christ, His central position as the Reconciler of all things, His possession of the fulness of the Godhead for the Church, the reality and import of His death.

The close connection in point of time between the two epistles is irresistibly brought home to the mind by a coincidence which a forger could neither have

devised nor been bold enough to use. In Col. iv. 7 we read, "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you," etc.; and in Eph. vi. 21 we read, "But that *ye also* may know my state, and how I do, Tychicus," etc.—a phrase which would not be very intelligible to the readers of the epistle, but which Paul naturally used when writing it immediately after informing the Colossians that Tychicus was to give them all news from Rome.

Of external attestation this epistle has the usual amount. Clement of Rome (i. 46) seems to have it in his mind when he says, "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of Grace poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ?" Ignatius, in his *Epistle to the Ephesians* (*circa* 110), mentions Paul's epistle to them and imitates the introduction of the Apostolic letter in his own. In chaps. ix. and xv. he also makes such use of the idea of a Temple built of living stones as naturally suggests the similar language of Paul. Polycarp also (c. 12) quotes as Scripture, "Be ye angry and sin not," and "Let not the sun go down on your wrath," and by connecting the two texts he seems to have in his mind, not the Old Testament Scriptures in which they originally occur, but Paul's quotation of them in Eph. iv. 26. In the first chapter of his letter he also quotes Eph. ii. 8, 9. The epistle is also included as Pauline in the Canons of the second century.

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Four of Paul's epistles—Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon—bear on their face that

they were written while their author was a prisoner.* They are therefore usually classed together and styled the Epistles of the Imprisonment, or the Prison-epistles. The three last-named letters are assigned by many good critics† to the imprisonment in Cæsarea. But from Col. iv. 3, 11 and Eph. vi. 19, 20, it would appear that when Paul wrote these letters he had liberty to preach the gospel. This liberty we know he had at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16); it is not likely that he had it at Cæsarea. It has also been pointed out that when these letters were written he was chained to a soldier (Eph. vi. 20; Col. iv. 3), but that while in Cæsarea he was not chained until Felix was superseded by Festus (Acts xxiv. 27). This argument is, however, uncertain. But even those who maintain the Cæsarean origin of these epistles, assign Philippians to the Roman imprisonment. For although the prætorium, or "palace," mentioned in i. 13, might possibly be the palace of Herod at Cæsarea where he was confined (Acts xxiii. 35), the mention of Cæsar's household (iv. 22), and the circumstances described in the first chapter are decisive in favour of Rome.

Of course if it could be put beyond doubt that

* Phil. i. 7, 13, 14, 17; Col. iv. 18; Eph. iii. 1; iv. 1; vi. 20; Philem. 1.

† So Reuss, *History*, p. 106; Meyer, Hausrath, Hilgenfeld, Weiss (pp. 249-50). Weiss lays too much stress on the diversity of intention expressed in Phil. ii. 24 and Philemon 22. He should have noticed that Paul meant to send Timothy to Macedonia before he went himself (ii. 23), and yet after his trial, which proves that he himself intended to go elsewhere, presumably to Colossæ, first.

Philippians is the earliest of the four, this would imply that the three other prison-epistles must also date from Rome. But this is by no means certain. The general opinion, indeed, is that Philippians is the latest of the four.* Paul's debating the comparative advantage of life and death (i. 20—26) seems to imply that the crisis of his fate was impending. Time also must be allowed for the progress of the gospel in Rome (i. 13); as well as for the arrival of Epaphroditus from Philippi, his work in Rome, dangerous illness, the report of his illness reaching Philippi, and a message being carried back to Rome. But although these requirements certainly forbid our dating the epistle at an early period of the Roman imprisonment they do not require us to place it at the very close. The anxiety he felt regarding his fate must have been chronic during the two years' imprisonment, and may have varied in intensity with rumours of the court or with changes in the imperial temper. The request made to Philemon (ver. 22) that he would prepare him a lodging, indicates a more certain and immediate prospect of release than anything in Philippians. A strong argument in favour of the earlier date of this epistle is also found in its similarity of expression to the Epistle to the Romans,† and in its general unlikeness to Colossians and Ephesians, which, had they been written shortly before, would almost certainly have

* Holtzmann (p. 282), "It is the last Will and Testament of the Apostle that we have here." Hilgenfeld (p. 347), "In this letter we have the Swan-song of Paul."

† For parallels see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 42—43.

found some echo in this letter. These arguments are by no means final, but the scale seems slightly to preponderate in favour of the earlier date. We conclude, then, that the Epistle to the Philippians was written in the second year of the Roman imprisonment, either in the end of 63 or early in 64 A.D.*

The occasion of the letter is obvious. Philippi† was naturally‡ the first city in Europe where Paul preached Christ. His maltreatment in their city drew out more powerfully the affection of the Philippians, so that "once and again" after he

* Bleck shows his usual sound judgment in the following: "We may regard it as certain (*a*) that all four epistles were written during the Roman imprisonment; (*b*) that none of them were written in the early months of that imprisonment; and (*c*) that Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon were despatched at one and the same time, but Philippians at a different time. We cannot, however, decide whether Philippians was sent before or after the other three: one supposition is as probable as the other."

† Called after Philip, who strengthened the site of the ancient Crenides, or *Fountains*, which commanded the great road from east to west. In Paul's time it had become a Roman colony (Phil. iii. 20; our *citizenship* is in heaven). "In the course of Roman history we find colonies used for three different purposes:—as fortified outposts in a conquered country, as a means of providing for the poor of Rome, and as settlements for veterans who had served their time. The colonies established in Italy before the latter part of the second century were of the first class, those designed by Gracchus were to be of the second, and those founded by Augustus were of the third." Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, 218. See also Merivale's *History*, vi. 238.

‡ πρώτη in Acts xvi. 20 is probably geographical, but see Hilgenfeld, 332, *note*.

left them, they sent him pecuniary aid (Phil. iv. 14). For some time before the Roman imprisonment their friendly assistance had ceased (iv. 10), which Paul with his usual delicacy attributes to no decay of their affection, but solely to lack of opportunity. But this blank interval marked with all the greater emphasis their resumption of their old expressions of affection. While in Rome Paul received from his first European converts a gift made all the more acceptable by its conveyance in the hand of Epaphroditus, whose energetic co-operation with himself in Rome Paul cannot sufficiently eulogize. Indeed this stranger from Philippi so threw himself into the work of Christ in the metropolis, that he became seriously ill (ii. 30); and on recovering and hearing how anxious his friends in Philippi had been on his account, he desired to return to them. Paul could scarcely send him back without putting in his hands a written acknowledgment of their kindness.

This letter, then, was meant to be a simple letter of friendship; "the most epistolary of the epistles," the easiest and most friendly of letters, it has been called. Paul pours into sympathetic ears a frank account of his circumstances, his expectations, his state of mind; and with a passing hint that their besetting infirmities were vanity and strife (ii. 2, 3), he sets before them the great example of lowliness, and goes on to promise them a visit from Timothy and himself, and to commend Epaphroditus. Apparently he meant to conclude at this point; but after writing "Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord" (iii. 1), he resumes in a somewhat different

tone, and adds nearly as much as he had already written. This introduction of a new and important subject at the point where the letter was apparently intended to close, has given rise to the supposition that as Paul was closing he was interrupted by the entrance of some friend who reported to him some further mischievous machinations of the Judaizing party in Rome."* This moves him, when he returns to the letter, to break out "Beware of dogs," etc. This is ingenious, but scarcely necessary. The fresh beginning and continuance of the letter, even in a different tone, needs no further explanation than it finds in the ardour and rapidity of Paul's mind. Having finished all he meant to say, he adds an exhortation similar to the conclusion of the Galatian epistle, and this exhortation gathers as it goes.† At iv. 2 he resumes where he had broken off and, again warning them against a spirit of discord, names two female members of the Church,‡ Euodia and Syntyche, whom he begs to be reconciled. Who the "true yoke-fellow" is, who is to help them to a reconciliation, is not known, unless, as Bishop Lightfoot suggests, it be Epaphroditus. §

* Ewald, *Sendschreiben*, 448, and Lightfoot.

† The verses 12—21 are addressed to the reactionary or antinomian party, whose resistance to Judaizers led them to make too little not only of the law but of morality.

‡ Which proves that the differences were not doctrinal, but social and individual.

§ Hilgenfeld (345) suggests that the president of the Philippian Church is intended. Renan translates γνήσιε σύζυγε "ma chère épouse" (*Saint Paul*, 148), and suggests that it is quite *possible* that Paul may have married Lydia. Salmon's note (*Introduction*, p. 465) is a little too hard on Renan.

From the expression "To write the same things to you" (iii. 1), Bleek and others infer that Paul had written a letter to the Philippians previous to the one extant.* It is very possible, and indeed probable, that Paul wrote other letters to this Church, with which he was on terms so intimate, but the words cited do not prove this. What "the same things" refer to is doubtful. The words may refer to the immediately preceding injunction, "Rejoice in the Lord," to which he afterwards returns, and returns with a similar consciousness that he is harping on one string (iv. 4) †; and already in the epistle (i. 18, 25; ii. 2, 17, 28) his allusions to joy have been frequent. To Paul's happy mind the reiteration of this precept was not irksome, and it was safe for the Philippians, for joy in the Lord is certainly the great safeguard against murmuring and discord. But the words may possibly refer to what follows,‡ and Paul may have wished to say that to repeat to them the warnings against Judaizers which he had given to others, or to themselves by word of mouth, was not irksome to him, and was certainly safe for them.

The epistle is valuable as illustrating the heroism and tenderness of Paul's character. Nothing daunts him, nothing even damps his joy. This equanimity is the result of his real consecration to Christ's service.

* Meyer and others think that a testimony to the plurality of letters to this Church is to be found in Polycarp's use of the plural (ἐπιστολάς) when speaking of Paul's communication with them (Polyc., *ad Phil.* iii), but Lightfoot has shown this to be an unwarrantable inference.

† Summa Epistolæ—gaudeo, gaudete.—*Bengel.*

‡ So Holtzmann (285).

It is because "to live is Christ" that he feels assured "to die is gain" for him. The enthusiasm with which he speaks of the furtherance of the gospel, and directs his friend's attention to this result of his hardships, and not to those hardships themselves; the sympathy and cordial acknowledgment of the service and illness of Epaphroditus; the remarkable delicacy with which he alludes to the gift of the Philippians and his need of it, are all thoroughly Pauline.

But the epistle is also valuable for its compressed statement of his gospel as opposed to the teaching of the Judaizers (iii. 1—12). If circumcision, Hebrew descent, legal blamelessness, formed a just claim to salvation, Paul had more to rely upon than the most convinced and zealous Judaizer. He was circumcised, of pure blood, and a rigid observer of the law. But though he once built his hope of God's favour on these things, and counted them over in his own mind as his spiritual gains, he now esteemed them not at all. He found them to be an actual hindrance, a loss, a minus quantity. He had to cast them away, to renounce all these claims, in order that he might win Christ. For a man who hopes to earn God's favour by his own righteousness has no need of Christ, and will not accept Him. But, says Paul, "I have suffered the loss of all things—all, *i.e.*, that he had founded his hope of God's favour upon—and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in Him," etc. (iii. 8, 9). He saw how much purer, deeper, more efficient was the righteousness offered to him in Christ, and therefore in order to win it he rejected the other. To depend on both

was impossible: they mutually exclude each other. Paul made his choice, threw away his former gains, and so gained Christ. That is, when Christ was revealed to him, he saw that the favour of God he had been labouring for by strict observance of the minutest injunction of the law, was already his by God's free gift. And at the same time he saw in the character of Christ how infinite a righteousness is the righteousness of God, and how impossible to win God's favour by a life which should perfectly meet the necessary requirement of a perfect God.

But while he abandoned his own righteousness as a ground on which he might hope to earn God's favour, he was far from abandoning the hope of holiness or efforts to attain it. On the contrary, his aim is not only to win Christ and to be found in Him, but "to know Christ and the power of His resurrection," etc. (ver. 10). His final object being "to attain to the resurrection of the dead," to be conformed to Christ in spirit and in body (ver. 21), he finds in Christ new forces for the accomplishment of this object. He, in the first place, sees it attained in Christ, and that gives a definiteness and hopefulness to his aim which it had not before. And, further, the intimate fellowship into which Christ has called him sustains, purifies, strengthens him. Subdued and melted to humility and tenderness by the love Christ had shown him in meeting him in the full career of his sin, and giving him a place next to Himself; enlightened in the knowledge of the deepest roots of human character by what he learned of Christ's own career; convinced of the mission and power of Christ by his vision of Him, he

gives himself hopefully to the work appointed to him, and "presses towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus" (ver. 14).

The authenticity of the Epistle to the Philippians has not been seriously questioned. It receives early support,* and was universally accepted as Pauline in the second century. The objections of Baur are thus summarised by himself: "What appears suspicious to me in the Philippian epistle may be reduced to the following three heads: 1. The appearance of Gnostic ideas in the passage ii. 6—9.† 2. The want of anything distinctively Pauline. 3. The questionableness of some of the historical data." Such objections only tend to lessen our esteem for the critical insight of the writer who raises them. Bleek very justly says that Baur's arguments "are partly derived from a perverted interpretation of certain passages in the epistle; they partly rest upon arbitrary historical presuppositions; some of them are really so weak that we can hardly believe that he could have attached any importance to them himself." The onesidedness of much of Baur's criticism is illustrated by the fact that he spends many pages on an attempt to show that "Clement is named in Phil. iv. 3 in order to glorify Clement of Rome as a fellow-labourer of the Apostle." He omits to notice that the Clement named

* For passages see Davidson and Kirchhofer.

† Hilgenfeld says: "In no case admissible is the interpretation of Baur, who discovers here opposition to the gnostic-valentinian doctrine that the last Aeon of the Pleroma wished to connect itself immediately with the Original Being but sank back into the *κένωμα*."

in the epistle belongs to the Philippian, and not to the Roman Church.

EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

Colossæ,* situated on the river Lycus, in south-western Phrygia, but within the Roman proconsular province of Asia, had in earlier times been a large and populous city, but was considerably reduced at the date of this letter, possibly owing to the rivalry of its prosperous neighbours Laodicea† and Hierapolis, which lay a few miles farther down the river. The only feature of the population which throws light on the epistle is its very considerable Jewish ingredient. Two thousand Jewish families had been transplanted by Antiochus the Great, and had been settled in Lydia and Phrygia; and it is important to observe that these families had been brought from Babylonia and Mesopotamia.‡ Other influences increased the Jewish population§ until in Paul's time they formed

* The form Colassæ seems to have prevailed only in a later age. Bishop Lightfoot therefore, while he admits κολασσαεῖς into the heading or title of the epistle, rejects it from the text. See the evidence in his *Commentary*, pp. 16, 17, note.

† Tacitus (*Annal.*, xiv. 27) is evidently astonished that Laodicea should have been able to recover from an earthquake by its own resources; "nullo a nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit." For the demand on the imperial exchequer made by Sardis in similar circumstances, see *Annal.*, ii. 47, and cf. Rev. iii. 17.

‡ Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 3.

§ "The vines and the baths of Phrygia have separated the ten tribes from Israel." Quoted by Lightfoot from the Talmud. See also Cicero, *pro Flacco*.

a distinctly influential element in the towns of Phrygia.

Although the missionary journeys of Paul had more than once lain through Phrygia, it is clear that his route had always been east and north of the cities lying in the valley of the Lycus. He therefore, in writing to the Colossians, classes them (ii. 1) with those "who have not seen [his] face in the flesh."* Apparently they had received the gospel through Epaphras (i. 7),† who was himself a Colossian (iv. 12), and probably was one of those who heard Paul preach at Ephesus in the school of Tyrannus, and who spread the knowledge of the Lord Jesus among "all them which dwelt in Asia" (Acts xix. 10). Epaphras had joined Paul in Rome, and had given him a vivid idea of the progress and of the dangers of the Christian Churches in the valley of the Lycus (i. 8; iv. 12, 13). Teachers had appeared in Colossæ who were confusing the minds of the converts not yet "stablished in the faith."

The precise doctrines and affinities of these teachers can be gathered from the epistle itself, in which Paul warns the Christians against them. That they were Jews is evident from their enjoining circumcision (ii. 11; iii. 11) and the observance of the Mosaic ordinances, sacred days and seasons, and so forth (ii. 14—22). So far they resembled the Judaizers

* For the right interpretation of these words, see Lightfoot, and Bleek, ii. 23.

† Lardner argues strongly for the position, that Paul founded the Colossian Church. His arguments are answered by Davidson, ii. 171-6.

who had marred Paul's work in Galatia and elsewhere. But with this Judaism the Colossian teachers mingled a "philosophy" (ii. 8), a "worshipping of angels" (ii. 18), and an ascetic "neglect of the body" (ii. 23), which were not characteristic of Judaizing teachers. It would also appear that their philosophy or theosophy endangered the supremacy of Christ, probably by ascribing to angels the work of creation (i. 16), of giving and enforcing the law (ii. 15), and of mediating in redemption between God and man (ii. 18). And it is plain that all this was taught as a mystery or as esoteric doctrine imparted to the initiated alone, and under seal of secrecy (cf. ii. 3; i. 27; and the emphasis laid on the non-exclusiveness of the gospel i. 28, in the three times repeated "every").

But no sooner are these characteristics of the Colossian heresy stated than it is obvious that point by point they coincide with Gnosticism. The very terms used by Paul are Gnostic terms.* Gnosticism, as the name itself implies, asserted the supremacy of knowledge (Gnosis). Faith may suffice for the multitude, but the initiated, the select few, are saved by knowledge. The esoteric doctrine they imparted was a doctrine of creation devised to save God from the responsibility of being the author of evil. God, who is absolutely good, cannot by His immediate act have produced the world; for had He done so it also must, like its Author, be only good. Besides this moral difficulty there was ever clamouring for solution the metaphysical difficulty of connecting the Absolute

* Pleroma (ii. 9), principalities and powers, etc. (i. 16).

God with the material world. Both these difficulties the Gnostics claimed to solve by their theory of emanations. God expressed Himself by giving birth to a Being worthy of Him; and this Being again reproduced a third, and so on through successive emanations, each naturally in proportion to its distance from the Source, having a feebler divine ingredient, until contact with matter and the work of creation became possible. Between the Supreme, Perfect God, and the world, there are thus interposed a graduated series of beings, which appear sometimes as personal, sometimes as impersonal in the various Gnostic systems, and which are variously known as emanations, æons, or angels. Underlying this whole theory is the oriental dualism which ascribes the origin of evil, not to the will of man but to matter. And as a necessary result of this tenet the Gnostics taught that redemption is to be achieved by asceticism.

The form which Gnosticism took when combined with Jewish Christianity is distinctly seen in the teaching of Cerinthus, who flourished in the time of Trajan. He was a Jewish Christian, who adopted Gnostic views, and taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God but by a power distinct from Him and ignorant of Him. Jesus, who was a mere man, received at His baptism the Christ, by whose inspiration He announced the unknown Father, the Supreme God. Towards the end of His ministry the Christ departed from Him, so that the mere man Jesus suffered, died, and rose again.* This teaching

* See Mansel's *Gnostics*, 113; and Nitzsch's note in Bleek, ii. 25—27.

brings out clearly the Ebionite tendency which naturally resulted from the Gnostic horror of matter; and that some similar tendency was exhibited by the Colossian errorists is evident from the emphatic manner in which Paul (i. 14, 19, 20, 22, etc.) links together the supremacy of Christ and His death, insisting that the same person who made all things suffered on the cross.

But the emergence of Gnostic ideas and terminology in a letter purporting to be written in the year A.D. 64, is declared to be sufficient proof that it is not what it claims to be. Thus Baur affirms* that "we are here transported to a circle of ideas which belongs to a wholly different historical period, viz., to the period of Gnosticism"—that is, to the second century. It is true that before the time of Cerinthus we have no trustworthy record of any sect or teacher who combined fully developed Gnostic ideas with Christ's doctrine. But to argue that Gnosticism was not known in the Church until the beginning of the second century, and that this epistle must therefore be referred to that period, is either to throw dust in the eyes or to betray ignorance of history. For the roots from which Gnosticism sprang can be traced not merely into the first century, but through the writings of Philo, the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, back to the Persian speculations with which

* *Paul*, ii. 8; "And in this I follow him," says Hilgenfeld, 663. Holtzmann thinks the peculiarities of the epistle are best accounted for by the supposition that it is a genuine Pauline letter which has been interpolated to the extent of half its contents by the unknown author of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

the Jews became familiar during the Captivity. And there is as much reason to refer Philo to the second century as to refer this epistle to the period of fully developed and explicitly enounced Gnosticism. The fact is that, long before the Christian Church was founded, the thinkers of Asia were familiar with the ideas and speculations which were afterwards identified with Gnosticism;* and if this great system was not earlier recognised as a Christian heresy, the probability is that the delay was caused not by any lack of endeavour to combine Christianity and Gnosticism, but by the strenuous opposition which the Apostles offered to the incipient tendencies towards this combination.† It would be strange indeed if, in an age when East and West were mingling, when amalgamations and combinations of every kind were attempted, when men seem to have come to distrust each separate philosophy and to imagine that truth might be found by combining all, no attempt had been made to combine Christianity and Gnostic speculations. This epistle is the most trustworthy evidence we have of any actual attempt of this kind, and in these Colossian teachers we see the spiritual progenitors of Cerinthus and the rest.

Bishop Lightfoot has materially aided the endeavour to posit this Colossian heresy in its proper historical place, by showing that it has its natural precursor in

* "It is a matter of little moment at what precise time the name 'Gnostic' was adopted, whether before or after contact with Christianity."—*Lightfoot*, p. 81.

† See a singularly lucid statement in Davies' *St. Paul's Epistles*, p. 80. Hilgenfeld's discussion of the rise of Christian Gnosticism is superficial. *Einleitung*, pp. 652-8.

a well-known form of Judaism, which existed in the time of our Lord and His Apostles. He has shown that Essenism was Gnostic Judaism, and that this type of Jewish thought had established itself in Phrygia and Asia in the Apostolic age. The Essenes represented among the Jews legalism, mysticism, and asceticism. They were scrupulous in their observance of the Mosaic law, though they looked with horror on bloody sacrifices, abstained, as it would seem, from eating flesh and drinking wine, and discountenanced marriage. It is easy to recognise the principle which lay at the root of this asceticism, the principle that matter is evil, and that to be delivered from sin man must, as far as possible, be emancipated from all dependence on matter. They betrayed their genealogical connection with Persian speculation by their worship of the sun and their doctrine of angels. What that doctrine precisely was it is impossible to say, for the initiated was sworn "to conceal nothing from the members of the sect, and to report nothing concerning them to others . . . not to communicate any of their doctrines to any one, otherwise than as he himself had received them . . . and to guard carefully the names of the angels." The Essenes would thus seem to have possessed three of the characteristic notes of Gnosticism: "This Jewish sect exhibits the same exclusiveness in the communication of its doctrines. Its theological speculations take the same direction, dwelling on the mysteries of creation, regarding matter as the abode of evil, and postulating certain intermediate spiritual agencies as necessary links of communication between heaven and earth.

And lastly, its speculative opinions involve the same ethical conclusions, and lead in like manner to a rigid asceticism." If then Essenism came in contact with Christianity and sought to form an alliance with it, there would result a conglomerate distinguishable by the very features of this Colossian heresy.

By these explanations not only is the genuineness of the epistle established, but the point and power of its statements are brought clearly out. Paul does not aim at exploding the incipient heresy by argument. He contents himself with showing that all that was advantageous or attractive in the new doctrine existed already in Christ, and existed in Him not in appearance but in truth. To the attractiveness of being initiated into mysteries and esoteric doctrines to which none but the select few were admitted, he opposes his ministry of a gospel free from all intellectual exclusiveness, which he preaches to "*every* creature" (i. 23), "warning *every* man, and teaching *every* man in *all* wisdom, that we may present *every* man *perfect* in Christ Jesus" (i. 28). The mere statement of this true perfecting of every man by the revelation of the mystery of Christ should be enough to make every sound-hearted man ashamed of being led away by a promised "perfection," accomplished in a few by initiation into mysterious speculative theories. Similarly, over against the theory of intermediate beings saving God from direct contact with matter, Paul enunciates the true Deity of Christ, and affirms that "by Him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth," and that so far from matter being evil, "all things were created . . .

for Him" (i. 16). No language could more firmly and explicitly affirm the proper Divinity of Christ, or dispel the growing tendency to an Ebionitism which might seem to save the Divine from coming into ignominious contact with matter and even with death. The Christ whom Paul preached was not one emanation to be found at some point of the graduated descent from God to the last developed æon, but was Himself Divine; "it pleased the Father that in Him should all the *pleroma* dwell," the totality or fulness of the Godhead, so that in Him all Divine attributes were to be found (i. 19; ii. 9). There was therefore no need of any wisdom or help which could not be found in Christ (ii. 3, 10). To worship angels and seek their help (ii. 18) may seem humility, but it is gratuitous and futile; for "ye are complete in Christ, Who is the head of all principality and power" (ii. 10). Hold the Head and you are saved; and refrain from all speculations which merely puff you up with a sense of fancied superiority (ii. 18).

The practical results of this incipient Gnosticism are exposed in the same manner, by exhibiting in contrast the greater efficacy of the purely Christian teaching. The rules of an ascetic avoidance of material things, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," have a show of humility, but "are of no value against the indulgence of the flesh" (ii. 23). The true deliverance from carnality and earthliness is to be found in fellowship with Christ, in so truly believing in and loving Him that our affections are carried with Him to things above (iii. 1—5).

The authenticity of the Epistle is externally

attested by echoes in Barnabas, Clement, and Ignatius; by quotations in Justin Martyr, and by its reception into the Canons of the first century. Mayerhoff was the first to throw suspicion upon it, by exhibiting its resemblances to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Renan argues strongly for its genuineness,* and among other grounds urges that if Ephesians was an imitation of it, this implies that the imitator accepted Colossians as Pauline. Hilgenfeld holds with Baur, that "the Colossian letter has to do with an already fully developed Gnosticism, and this carries it not merely beyond Paul's life-time, but beyond the first century.† It is, however, impossible to imagine a letter such as this to have been written in presence of the fully developed systems. Opposition to these systems would have been more detailed and pronounced.

The difficulties which have been found in the style of the latter are explained by Paul's want of familiarity with this novel teaching. He was on ground he had not traversed before, using the suggestions of heresy to elucidate new aspects of Christ and His gospel. The easy and natural manner in which this letter links itself to the Epistle to Philemon (cf. iv. 9—14 with Phil. 23, 24; iv. 17 with Phil. 2) is, as Renan shows, strong proof of authenticity. It may be added that the descriptions given of those who send salutations correspond with the fact that Paul and his constant companions had not been at Colossæ. Baur's idea that Luke and Mark are brought together with "reconciling" intention is too ridiculous.

* *St. Paul*, x.—xii. † *Einleitung*, 667.

The mention of "the Epistle from Laodicea" (iv. 16) has given rise to a number of theories which are classified and examined by Lightfoot. His own opinion is that the epistle here referred to was that to the Ephesians, which was intended as a circular letter to be read first by the Ephesians, then by the Laodiceans, and then by the Colossians. The spurious Laodicean Epistle is given by Lightfoot. It is a mere cento of phrases and clauses from the Pauline letters and is entirely worthless.

EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

The Epistle to Philemon stands alone among the Pauline epistles as a letter addressed to an individual on a private matter. The letters to Timothy and Titus are addressed to them as officials in the Church, and they deal with matters which concerned the Church. But this letter is written to intercede for a runaway slave with his master. "It is only one sample of numberless letters which must have been written to his many friends and disciples by one of St. Paul's eager temperament and warm affections in the course of a long and chequered life." * Of Philemon we only know what is implied in this letter and in that to the Colossians. He was resident in Colossæ, as we gather from Col. iv. 9, where it is stated that Onesimus belongs to Colossæ. He had been brought to the faith by Paul (Philemon 19); and as Paul does not appear to have hitherto visited Colossæ (Col. ii. 1), it is probable that Philemon had

* Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 369.

heard him in Ephesus, or in some Phrygian town. If he himself had not founded the Christian Church in Colossæ,* at all events his house is the Christian meeting place (Philemon 2), and Paul calls him his "fellow-labourer." He has also distinguished himself by his kindness and helpfulness, but whether this involves that he was a man of considerable pecuniary means does not appear. His wife, also a Christian, had the common Phrygian name, Apphia; and Archippus, who was a minister or deacon of some sort in the church (Col. iv. 17),† is generally supposed to have been their son, and from the position his name occupies in the address of the letter this seems not unlikely.

But the letter to Philemon was occasioned not by Paul's interest in him, but in his slave Onesimus. A Phrygian slave was one of the lowest known types to be found in the Roman world, displaying all the worst features of character which the servile condition developed. Onesimus proved no exception. He ran away from his master, and, as Paul thought probable (ver. 18, 19), not without helping himself to a share of his master's possessions.‡ By the help of what he had stolen, and by the cleverness which afterwards made him so helpful to Paul, he made his way to Rome, naturally drawn to the great centre, and prompted both by a desire to hide himself and by a youthful yearning to see the utmost the world could

* See on *Colossians*.

† Probably in Colossæ, but Lightfoot supposes in Laodicea.

‡ Dr. Abbott, in his instructive romance *Onesimus*, represents the theft as unpremeditated.

show of glory and of vice. But whether feeling his loneliness, or wearied with a life of vice, or impoverished and reduced to want, or seized with the fear of detection, he made his way to Paul, or unbosomed himself to some Asiatic he saw on the street. And as he stepped out of the coarse debauchery and profanity of the crowded resorts of the metropolis into the room hallowed by the presence of Paul, he saw the foulness of the one life and the beauty of the other, and was persuaded to accept the gospel he had often heard in his master's house. How long he remained with Paul does not appear, but long enough to impress on the Apostle's mind that this slave was no common man. Paul had devoted and active friends by him, but this slave, trained to watch his master's wants and to execute promptly all that was entrusted to him, became almost indispensable to Paul. But to retain him, Paul feels, would be to steal him, or at any rate to deprive Philemon of the pleasure of voluntarily sending him to minister to him (ver. 14). He therefore sends him back with this letter so exquisitely worded* that it cannot but have secured the forgiveness and cordial reception of Onesimus.

Mediation is always a difficult task, and it is certainly not lightened when the parties to be reconciled are a slave and his master. Nothing could surpass the delicacy and fine feeling with which Paul manages this matter. Every verse contains some turn of phrase that reveals his tact and courtesy. Philemon's past favours and habitual kindness are appealed to, and

* For a variety of testimonies to the beauty of the letter, see Lightfoot, p. 384, where Pliny's similar letter is also given.

Paul does not hesitate to beg for the slave's forgiveness as a favour to himself. The play upon the name Onesimus * is similar to many instances in the Old Testament—"Onesimus [Profitable], who in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me" (ver. 11),† and still more obviously in ver. 20, "Yea, brother, may I be profited by thee in the Lord."

The authenticity of this private note is undoubted. Marcion accepted it as Pauline, and it was not questioned until the fourth century. Baur's position regarding Colossians compelled him to attack the Pauline authorship of Philemon, but he feels how awkward a task this is, and apologizes for undertaking it. "In the case of this epistle more than any other, if criticism should inquire for evidence in favour of its Apostolic name, it seems liable to the reproach of hyper-criticism, of exaggerated suspicion, of restless doubt, from the attacks of which nothing is safe. What has criticism to do with this short, attractive, graceful and friendly letter, inspired as it is by the noblest Christian feeling, and which has never yet been touched by the breath of suspicion?" ‡ This

* Farrar compares Whitefield's appeal to Shuter, the comedian, who was best known in the character of Ramble. "And thou, poor Ramble, who hast so often rambled from Him, oh, end thy ramblings and come to Jesus."

† "As a converted slave he has been changed out of an ἄχρηστος, one from whom his master derived no profit, but rather the reverse, into an εὔχρηστος for both, for his master and the Apostle. Here there is a play, not only on the slave's name Onesimus (serviceable), but on the Christian name itself, for the heathens often said Χρηστός instead of Χριστός."—Baur's *Paul*, ii. 82.

‡ *Paulus*, ii. 80.

critic regards it as a romance intended to convey the Christian idea that what one loses in the world one recovers in Christianity, and that for ever; that the world and Christianity are related to one another as separation and reunion, as time and eternity (cf. ver. 15). But there is no trace of such use of the epistle in early times. On the contrary it was considered as a purely private and common-place letter, and the first objections to its authenticity arose from the absence of any profound teaching in it. It would be much more to the point to say that it was intended to supply an actual instance of Paul's treatment of the slave which might justify the admission of slaves to the Christian brotherhood and to office in the Church. But for such a purpose this epistle is at once too much and too little: too much, for there was no disposition to exclude slaves, and too little because any one who troubled himself to build this little romance, and who could so successfully imitate Paul's style, would certainly have gone much further and have used the suggestions which occur in the other epistles.* For the bearing of this epistle and of Christianity on slavery, reference must be made to the Commentaries.†

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Thessalonica, now known under the abbreviated name Salonika or Salonica, was in ancient times known

* See Holtzmann, 262.

† And to such works as Brace's *Gesta Christi*, and Boissier's *Religion Romaine*.

as Emathia, Halia,* and finally Thermæ, a name, like our Bath, Wells, and Spa, common to a number of towns which possessed hot medicinal springs. It is situated at the head of the Thermaic gulf,† which deeply indents the Macedonian shore, and it covers the irregular slope which runs, not very steeply, up from the water's edge to the crest of the hill which "forms a semi-circular barrier round the upper extremity" of the gulf. With a rich district behind and the open sea in front, Thessalonica rapidly became one of the most important Mediterranean ports. Its position, being at once suitable for commerce and capable of defence, attracted the eye of Cassander, who in the year 315 B.C. rebuilt and enlarged the town, and gave it the name of his wife Thessalonica, a sister of Alexander the Great. The subsequent prosperity of the city justified the wisdom of its founder. When the Romans divided Macedonia into a tetrarchy, Thessalonica was made the chief city of the second province (*Macedonia secunda*), and ultimately it became the metropolis of the whole. At the time of Paul's visit it enjoyed the rights of a free city,‡ being governed by seven politarchs (cf. Acts xvii. 6, 8), who, though responsible to the Roman proconsul (Acts xvii. 7, 8), were elected by the citizens themselves.

Into this politically and commercially important city the feet of Paul were guided as he came from Philippi by the great Roman road (*Via Egnatia*)

* So called from its situation on the sea.

† Herodotus, vii. 21.

‡ "Liberæ conditionis."—Plin., *N.H.*, v. 17.

which connected the region to the north of the Ægean sea with Rome. His letter affords evidence (ii. 9) that he quickly found employment, and felt himself at home among the working men and tradespeople of Thessalonica. This coincides with the fact that one of the staple manufactures of the city was and is goat's-hair cloth.* The sound that follows the ear as one walks through the streets of Salonika to-day is the wheezing and straining vibration of the loom and the pendulum-like click of the regular and ceaseless shuttle. Another allusion in the epistle (i. 8) reminds us that not only must such a city have had especial attraction for Paul, as likely to give a favourable hearing to his message, but that its commercial and seafaring population would rapidly diffuse whatever they themselves might receive. Every ship that left the harbour, and every wagon that returned inland, carried some account of the riot at Thessalonica and of the extraordinary man who had been the unwitting occasion of it. No doubt his determination to visit this city was also influenced by his knowledge that it contained a large resident Jewish population.† But among his fellow-countrymen his words found little acceptance. "Some," indeed, believed (Acts xvii. 4); but after three Sabbaths he was no longer admitted to the synagogue; and it is obvious, from various expressions in the epistle, that the young

* See Davies' *St. Paul in Greece.*

† The modern population approaches 90,000, and is composed in almost equal proportions, of Jews, Greeks, and Turks. The Jews, who own upwards of twenty synagogues, use the Spanish language. The Greeks are chiefly sailors and fishermen. The Bulgarians rear horses and cultivate the soil.

Christian community was mainly, if not almost exclusively, composed of Gentiles (1 Thess. i. 9; ii. 14; and the absence of allusions to Jewish tenets, or to the facts of Jewish history, or to the O.T.).

Being soon and suddenly separated from his converts in Thessalonica, and knowing that he left them in a hazardous position in which great pressure would be used to induce them to recant, Paul was naturally anxious to revisit them (1 Thess. ii. 17, 18). When he found that this was impossible he sent Timothy (iii. 2) to encourage them; and when this daring and faithful messenger returned and reported their steadfastness, Paul, filled with joy and gratitude, could not forbear writing (iii. 6—10). The report of Timothy is partly expressed, partly implied. It had not been entirely favourable. Greek vices had been carried into the Christian Church (iv. 3—8), and Paul's character and motives had already been attacked. Timothy must, indeed, have smiled when he reported to Paul, "Some of the unbelieving Jews are trying to persuade the converts that you are covetous, and find it an easy kind of life to stroll round and see foreign parts, and get kept by harder working men, and receive the adulation of foolish women." Against such insinuations the Thessalonian converts must be supposed to have been sufficiently armed, for they had seen the Apostle walking lame from the treatment he had received at Philippi while prosecuting this easy, remunerative, sauntering life of his. They had looked with shame at the unhealed cuts on his face and head, at his torn, soiled, much-mended clothes. Yet Paul felt it needful, after hearing

Timothy's report, to defend himself against insinuations which might injure the Christian cause (ii. 3—9). He sees that if they begin to doubt the sincerity of the messenger they will go on to doubt the truth of the message.

The object of this letter is, therefore, to remove from the minds of the Thessalonians suspicions which may weaken their faith and retard, or quite prevent, their progress. The writer, therefore, begins by assuring them that their faith and the fruits which have evinced its truth, have been matter of constant gratitude to God on his part (i. 1—3); and that they might be stimulated to still greater efforts, he reminds them that their election of God, and not merely Apostolic approval, had been proved by their faith and its consistent fruit. They had, indeed, been made exemplary to others (i. 4—10), so that among them it had been manifest that his preaching was not a mere human device, but was the instrument of God's power. In the second chapter he repels the calumnies which were being circulated about his motives, and appeals to what they themselves have seen of his conduct and character (ii. 1—12); and then cites their own steadfastness under persecution as proof that the Gospel they had received from him was the word of God, and that, therefore, by implication, he was God's commissioned servant (ii. 13—16). In ii. 17—iii. 13 he defends himself against the accusation of cowardice and fickleness, which were supposed to be exhibited in his sudden abandonment of Thessalonica, leaving his young converts to fight their own battle. To this he replies that he had striven to return, and that, al-

though absent, his happiness depended on his receiving good tidings of them; and he further reminds them that he had been content to remain alone in an unfriendly city, that he might send his companion to aid them and bring news of them.

This defence of himself and of the gospel, as sent by God, forms the true body of the letter, and the rest is supplementary, as is shown by the connecting words, "Finally, then" (iv. 1). In this supplement Paul admonishes them to hold fast the commandments of Jesus and especially to guard against unchastity, little as it might be blamed by their heathen friends (iv. 1—8). Of brotherly love he would not have spoken had there not been among them some manifestations which might endanger their love: he exhorts them therefore to increase in love and to study to be quiet and earn their own bread (iv. 9—12). And as it was the expectation of the Lord's coming which had led some to give up their ordinary employments, so the same expectation had led them to unwise questionings regarding the fate of those who died before that event, and regarding the time at which it might be looked for. These questionings Paul deprecates and replies to (iv. 13—v. 11). A series of admonitions bearing upon the actual condition of the Church is added, and the letter concludes with the injunction that it be publicly read.

There is in this epistle little affirmation of specially Pauline doctrine. "Of the inability of the natural man to work out his own salvation, of the seat of sin in the flesh, of justification by grace or of com-

munity of life with Christ mediated by His Spirit, of the position of the Christian as regards the law, or of the Apostle's profound reflections on the relation of Christianity to Judaism and heathenism, we have not a word" (Weiss). From this fact it is commonly inferred that at the date of this epistle Paul had not as yet fully developed his theology. That may be so: but the proof of it can scarcely be found in this epistle, in which he was addressing a Church whose difficulties were practical and personal rather than doctrinal. The constantly recurring theme in the epistle is the coming of the Lord. It is not too much to say that "a constant allusion to it is woven like a golden thread throughout its whole texture, and each section, whatever its subject, is sure to reach its climax in a reference to it (i. 10; ii. 19; iii. 13; v. 23)."* The reason of this is that Paul is writing to a young Gentile Church. In preaching to Gentiles the Apostle could not readily prove Jesus to be the Messiah or appeal to the Old Testament Scriptures. His appeal must be to conscience, to the undying sense of responsibility in man, and to his natural recognition of the righteousness of judgment. He summoned men to repentance because a day was appointed in which the world would be judged by Christ. Emphasis was given to this appeal, and a sense of near reality imparted to the apprehension of judgment, by the fact that Christ was raised from the dead to be Judge (Acts xvii. 30, 31). The coming of the Lord was therefore primarily a coming to judgment, when

* Professor Warfield, *Expositor*, July, 1886.

"destruction from the face of the Lord" would light upon His enemies (1 Thess. v. 3; ii. 1—9), while His followers would for ever dwell with Him (1 Thess. iv. 17) being "established in holiness" (iii. 13).

But some of the large terms which cover so much in Paul's system of truth are here familiarly used by him. "His gospel" (i. 5; the "gospel" or "word of God," ii. 8, 9, 13) with which to his perpetual joy and wonder he had been entrusted (ii. 4) was God's gracious summons of men to holiness (iv. 7) and to deliverance from the wrath to come (i. 10). "To serve the living and true God and to wait for His Son from heaven" (i. 9, 10)—this is the conduct and attitude of those who "receive the word." Jesus is God's Son, the Lord raised from the dead, Who is suddenly (v. 3) to appear from heaven with His saints (iv. 16; iii. 13).

And in no epistle is the character of Paul more frankly disclosed. His affectionate and ardent disposition, his devotedness to the welfare of his fellowmen, his generous recognition of the beginnings of good in his converts, his solicitude for their progress, his purity of motive and untiring energy are clearly reflected in this letter. He felt for his converts all the love and responsibility of a parent. It was with pain he absented himself from them, with difficulty he was prevented from revisiting them, with delight that he looked forward to the time when this should be possible. A great nature absorbed in great aims shines through every page of the letter.

It will therefore be apparent that this epistle carries

in itself the proof of its genuineness. Baur indeed had boldness enough to deny its authenticity, but in this denial he has not been followed by his usual adherents but only by Noack, Van der Vies, Volkmar, and Holsten. His chief ground for rejecting it, he thus states: "The insignificance of its contents, the want of any special aim and of any intelligible occasion or purpose is itself a criterion adverse to a Pauline origin." * We have, however, seen that adequate occasion, aim, and purpose do appear; while the demand that every apostolic letter should contain matters of primary importance reveals a wholly artificial conception of apostolic life. An Apostle might surely write a letter of friendship as well as an ordinary man. Besides, as Jowett observes, "if it were admitted that the absence of doctrinal ideas makes the epistle unworthy of St. Paul, it makes it also a forgery without an object."

Another of Baur's difficulties is that "the chief part of the epistle is nothing but a lengthy version of the history of the conversion of the Thessalonians as we know it from the Acts." But as Baur himself grounds another objection on the difficulty of harmonizing these two documents, and as the full and feeling narrative of Paul is quite different in character from the brief sketch in the *Acts*, this objection may be cancelled. Again, he thinks it too much a mere echo of the Corinthian epistles. If an epistle is unlike the Pauline epistles Baur rejects it; if it is too like them he also rejects it. Jowett gives us a principle of criticism: "There is one kind of resemblance between

* *Paulus*, ii. 85 (Eng. Trans.).

two passages which indicates that one of them is an imitation or transcript of the other; while another kind only proves them to have been the production of the same mind.* There is nothing to excite suspicion in the recurrence of similar expressions, where similar thoughts and feelings demand expression; and there is nothing to excite suspicion in the recurrence of similar thoughts and feelings, when the same circumstances are reproduced." It is important also to note the remark of Jowett that the ancient forgers stole not words but passages.

Over and above the unmistakable marks which have been left on this epistle by Paul's character, some of his favourite expressions may be cited in evidence of authenticity. Thus we have "joy or crown" (ii. 19, cf. Phil. iv. 1); the playing upon words (ii. 4); involved sentences growing as they go (iii. 6). The "even I Paul" (ii. 18) with which the writer modifies the previous expression, "*we* would have come unto you," when he remembers that one of those named with him in the inscription of the epistle had actually revisited Thessalonica, is an inimitable mark of truth. Again, it seems flagrantly uncritical to refer to a forger of later date an epistle in which Paul is represented as speaking as if he might possibly survive till the coming of Christ.†

* Jowett's *Ep. of Paul*, i. 24.

† Jowett's establishment of the authenticity of this epistle is a masterpiece, and the study of it an education in criticism. Sabatier (*L'Apôtre Paul*, 94, note) should be consulted. He draws attention to one of those inconsistencies which betray

Externally the epistle is amply authenticated. It is contained in Marcion's list, in the Muratorian Canon, in the Syriac and Old Latin versions, while reminiscences of it, if not quotations, are found in Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

The date of the epistle is readily ascertained from the narrative given in Acts xvii. and xviii. From this narrative we learn that after leaving Thessalonica with Silas and Timothy, Paul proceeded to Berea and went thence to Athens. Whether Timothy was sent back to Thessalonica from Berea or from some other point, does not appear, but that he was sent back to encourage the disciples is stated in 1 Thess. ii. 17, 18. Meanwhile the Apostle went on to Corinth, and there he was overtaken by Silas and Timothy coming from Macedonia (Acts xviii. 5). It was this arrival of Timothy and the tidings he brought which prompted Paul to write to the Thessalonian Church (1 Thess. iii. 6). The epistle must therefore have been written two or three months after the Apostle's visit, and most probably in the early part of 53 A.D. Between his visit and his letter time must be allowed for the occurrence of the events which are alluded to in the letter—the death of some at least of

the hollowness and crudeness of much of Baur's criticism. In the body of his *Paul*, Baur argues that the author of these epistles drew slavishly upon the *Acts*, which, according to Baur, was not written before 120 A.D.; but in his dissertation on these epistles (printed at the end of the second volume of the English translation) he adopts Kern's idea that the Antichrist of 2 Thess. ii. is Nero, and that therefore the one epistle was written slightly before, the other slightly after the fall of Jerusalem.

the Thessalonian Christians (iv. 13), and the fame which their faith had attained, not only in their own neighbourhood, but in more remote localities (i. 8). But for these events two or three months are sufficient. This is therefore the earliest extant epistle of Paul.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was evoked by a misapplication, if not a misunderstanding, of some expressions used in the first; and it was probably written a few months after it, and certainly while Paul, Silas, and Timothy were still together at Corinth. These brethren are included with Paul in the inscription of the letter. It has also been remarked that the allusion in iii. 1, 2 to opposition experienced by the Apostle agrees well with the state of matters in Corinth which led to the appeal to Gallio. Grotius indeed maintained that this so-called Second Epistle was really the First, and in this idea he has been followed by Baur, Renan,* Ewald, and Davidson. But there is less plausibility in the supposition than these names might incline us to believe. The second

* Renan's words may be cited as a specimen of reckless criticism: "La II^{e} paraît avoir été écrite la première. La règle suivie dans la classification des lettres de Paul portant la même adresse a toujours été de donner la première place à la plus longue." The "toujours" being founded on the one instance of the Epistle to Corinthians (as Renan rejects those to Timothy), which certainly stand in their proper chronological order, is a fine touch.

epistle not only presupposes, but expressly refers to the first (ii. 15). In the first the allusions to the recent visit of the Apostle are, as was natural, abundant and vivid: in the second such allusions are rare. In the first the Parousia is spoken of as imminent: in the second it is guardedly and more definitely explained. The hostility of the Jews, which at the date of the earlier epistle had begun to make itself felt, has at the date of the second become formidable. In the face of these traces of date it is impossible to invert the order of the epistles.

The object of this epistle then was to remove some misunderstandings of what Paul had said in the first epistle regarding the coming of the Lord. The Thessalonians had conceived the idea that the day of Christ was at hand (ii. 2), and in consequence they had been in some cases led into idle waiting and disorderly conduct, while as the months went by without fulfilling their expectations, they became perplexed. Paul therefore assures them that their continued exposure to persecution is only a more certain evidence that Christ will one day come for the discomfiture of their enemies and their own deliverance (i. 4—12). Moreover, they are not to be disturbed by the non-intervention of the Lord's judgment, as if this had been definitely announced as immediately to take place. Much, Paul tells them, must first take place. Lawlessness must come to a head before Christ appears to destroy it (ii. 1—12). They themselves, chosen as they are to salvation, must hold fast what he had taught them (ii. 13—17). They must also pray for him and for the success of the gospel, and deal strin-

gently with all who walked disorderly, being excited and carried away by foolish expectations of the immediacy of the Parousia.

The authenticity of this epistle has been seriously questioned. Weiss says that "in the modern critical school the rejection of the second epistle has become almost as universal as the recognition of the first." Externally it has the same attestation as the first. But J. E. C. Schmidt first (in 1801) questioned the genuineness of ii. 1—12; and subsequently of the whole epistle. In this he has been followed by Baur, Pfleiderer, Hilgenfeld, and others. P. W. Schmidt (*Protest. Bibel*) thinks it possible that "our epistle is only the later form of a Pauline epistle which, in its original form, is lost to us." Davidson * thinks that "the purely Pauline basis has been wrought over, changed, and extended."

This uncertainty has a twofold source. It is thought that the view taken of the Parousia in the one epistle differs from that which is taken in the other. The first epistle speaks of it as imminent; the second as not immediate. But on more careful examination of the first epistle it is found to be rather the suddenness than the immediacy of the Parousia that is urged, and in fact the writer declines to say anything of "times and seasons." The other ground on which this epistle is rejected is the apocalyptic language of the second chapter. It is affirmed that the eschatology of this chapter is not the eschatology of Paul, but is borrowed from the Book of Revelation (cf. Rev. xiii. 2, 14; xix. 20). The man of sin is sup-

* *Introduction*, i. 347.

posed to be Nero* who was popularly supposed to be not dead but in hiding in the East, from which he was one day to return. The "withholder" is consequently Vespasian. And according to this interpretation the epistle must have been written by a disciple of Paul's in the year 68 or 70. Hilgenfeld† calls the passage "a little apocalypse of the closing years of Trajan;" the mystery of iniquity being the advancing Gnosticism of that age.

But the actual circumstances in which Paul was placed, as described in the Book of Acts, give us the key to the true interpretation of the passage. The Jews were the chief danger of the infant Church. It was by the Jews the Apostle himself had everywhere been opposed and maltreated; and it was by them also the Thessalonians were now being persecuted. But again and again in Paul's experience the Jewish hostility was thwarted by the Roman magistracy, and wherever he went it became more evident that but for the protection accorded to him and his converts by the imperial justice and authority, the Christian Church would be crushed. This Jewish anti-Christian fanaticism Paul saw to be increasing. His own early life taught him its unscrupulous bitterness and cruelty, and he seems to have anticipated that it would culminate in a personal Antichrist or false Messiah, who should be defeated by the re-appearance of Christ Himself. These expectations and the phraseology in which they were clothed by Paul find their source in the eschatological discourses of Christ Himself and in

* So Kern followed by Baur.

† *Einleitung*, p. 264.

the Book of Daniel. Such ideas do seem incongruous in the writings of Paul, and yet compelled as he was in this instance to allude to the future of Christianity and Judaism, there is nothing either in his expectations or in his wording of them to create surprise. As to the fulfilment of the prediction he utters, it is safest to say with Weiss: "Only in case the definitive apostasy of unbelieving Judaism culminated in the pseudo-messiah who, equipped with Satanic powers, should overthrow the bulwark of the Roman administration in the last Jewish revolution was the way opened up for anti-Christianity, to the complete destruction of Christianity; if the return of the true Messiah did not at this juncture at once put an end to His caricature." *

Warfield's exposition † of the passage is ingenious and plausible, but scarcely in keeping with Paul's experience. He precisely reverses the interpretation given above, and finds in the imperial line of Rome all the characteristics of the man of sin. The "withholder" is therefore the Jewish state which, so long as it existed, formed a protecting sheath in which the Church was sheltered till it acquired strength.

All criticisms of this epistle should be studied in the light of Dr. Salmon's wise and cautious words: "It is undeniable that long before the year 70, eschatological speculation was a subject of Christian thought. We have not the materials to write its history, and I marvel at the assurance of the man who pretends that he so knows all about the progress of Christian ideas on the subject in the fifteen years between 54 and 69,

* *Einleitung*, 178. † *Expositor*, July, 1886.

that while he feels it to be quite credible that such a forecast of the end of the dispensation as is contained in 2 Thess. ii. might have been written at the latter of these two dates, he is quite sure it could not have been written at the former." *

PASTORAL EPISTLES.

The Epistles to Timothy and Titus are entitled "The Pastoral Epistles" because they were addressed to these friends of Paul in their capacity of pastors, and for the purpose of guiding them in the discharge of their pastoral functions. But while this title sufficiently indicates their common and general characteristic, it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that there is, in all the three letters, and especially in 2 Timothy, much that is personal and private.

They have as abundant external attestation as could be expected. In Clement's *Epistle* (vii. 3; xxix. 1) there are echoes of 1 Tim. v. 41 and ii. 8. In Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians*, besides echoes, there is a distinct reference to 1 Tim. vi. 10, 7 in c. 4, "The love of money is the beginning of all evil. Knowing therefore that we brought nothing into the world, and are unable to carry anything out" After the middle of the second century the epistles are recognised as Paul's and quoted freely. Marcion, indeed, rejected them, and Tatian is supposed to have rejected those to Timothy. But, as Jerome states in the preface to his Commentary on *Titus*, these heretics rejected the epistles, not on critical grounds, but

* *Introduction*, p. 459.

merely because they disliked their teaching. He says they used no argument, but merely asserted, This is Paul's, This is not Paul's. It is obvious that men holding such opinions as Marcion and Tatian held would not willingly ascribe authority to epistles which condemned asceticism.

So far, then, as the early Church can guarantee to us the authenticity of writings ascribed to Paul, the Pastoral Epistles are guaranteed. But since the beginning of this century, when J. E. C. Schmidt (*Einleitung*, 1804) cast doubts on the first epistle, they have all been seriously called in question. Schleiermacher, in his letter to Gass (1807), argued that 1 Timothy is an imitation of 2 Timothy and Titus, and decidedly rejected it. Eichhorn proceeded to show that the difficulties attaching to the first Pastoral equally attached to all the three, and that they must stand or fall together—a conclusion which has generally been accepted by all schools of criticism.* Following such pioneers, it was to be expected that Baur should decidedly reject all the Pastoral Epistles. He concluded that they were written about the year 150 for the purpose of combating Gnosticism and of defending the Church against its assaults by a more definite ecclesiastical organisation.† And although some of his statements and positions have been modified by his followers, they have, as a school, accepted it as a final decision of criticism that these epistles

* Holtzmann (*Die Pastoral-Briefe*, p. 7) calls the three letters "unzertrennlichere Drillinge," as Ephesians and Colossians are inseparable twins. Holtzmann's book is the fullest on the subject.

† Baur, *Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe*, 1835.

are not from the hand or time of Paul. But in face of the proofs adduced to show that the errors and ecclesiastical organisation implied in the epistles cannot be matched by anything in the middle of the second century, few critics of repute, save Hilgenfeld, are courageous enough to place the epistles so late as Baur did. Hausrath would find a place for them in the time of Hadrian, and Pfleiderer is much of the same mind. These two critics also admit that in 2 Timothy there are undoubted Pauline fragments.*

Some of the difficulties which have prevented the acceptance of these epistles have been exaggerated, and may at once be removed. It has, for example, been pointed out that Paul's name appears alone in the address of these letters, whereas in the genuine Pauline letters he unites with himself Timothy (six times), or Silvanus (twice), or Sosthenes (once). But both in *Romans* and *Ephesians* the name of Paul stands alone, and in the Pastoral Epistles there is a personal element which quite accounts for Paul's departure from the usual custom, as well as for the absence of greetings to friends in Ephesus. At the same time the letters were in their ultimate destination public. The strong affirmation of his apostleship (1 Tim. ii. 7) would seem out of place in a letter written by Paul to Timothy as friend to friend; but the writer

* Pfleiderer (*Protest. Bibel*) accepts as genuine Pauline fragments 2 Tim. i. 15—18 and iv. 9—21. See also Hausrath. Renan says: "Some passages of these three epistles are so beautiful that we naturally ask whether the forger had not in his hand some authentic notes (billets) of Paul, which he has incorporated in his apocryphal composition."—*L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 95.

could not keep out of view the persons in whose society Timothy was living. It is also surprising that Paul should write instructions to one whom he had recently parted from, and should advise him regarding circumstances which had arisen before the parting took place (1 Tim. i. 3). This difficulty has appeared to some to be increased by the fact that Paul expected soon to return to Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 14). But after Paul's departure Timothy may have more urgently felt his need of written instructions, and may have wished advice in writing that he might refer to it from time to time, and, if need were, even refer others to it. Or, without any application from Timothy for such instructions, Paul may have had reason to know that he would be none the worse of receiving them. And that Paul could not count on speedily rejoining Timothy is apparent from 1 Tim. iii. 15.

The important difficulties are these three: 1st, the difficulty of finding any place for these letters in the known life of Paul; 2nd, the fact that they seem to imply an ecclesiastical organisation and a doctrinal development, both orthodox and heretical, considerably in advance of the Pauline age; and 3rd, that the language of the epistles is in a great measure different from that of the accepted epistles.

1. Where can we find a place for these letters in the life of Paul? The data for positing 1 Timothy are that Paul had gone from Ephesus into Macedonia, leaving Timothy in Ephesus (i. 3).* These conditions are not satisfied: (α) on Paul's first visit to Ephesus

* Otto's attempt to make out that it was not Paul but Timothy who had gone into Macedonia, is futile.

(Acts xviii. 19—21), for then he went, not to Macedonia, but to Syria. (β) The second visit was prolonged, and there is evidence that, during his stay in Ephesus, Paul made excursions into other parts; but the epistle implies a longer previous existence of the Ephesian Church than this early date would admit of. (γ) On the occasion of the riot which terminated Paul's long stay in Ephesus, he did leave that city to go into Macedonia; but he did not leave Timothy behind him, for already he had "sent into Macedonia Timotheus and Erastus" (Acts xix. 22), and, as we find Timothy again in Paul's company on his return from Greece (Acts xx. 4), there is no room, in the intervening months for any such stay of Timothy at Ephesus as is implied in the epistle. Besides, when Paul was in Macedonia after being compelled to flee from Ephesus, Timothy was with him (2 Cor. i. 1), and therefore could not have been "left" in Ephesus by Paul. It is also apparent, from the predictive language of Acts xx. 29, 30, that heretical teachers had not yet plainly appeared in the Church of Ephesus. We must, therefore, place the Pastoral Epistles, which imply the presence and influence of such teachers, after Paul's arrest at Jerusalem and subsequent imprisonment.

The data of the historical position of 2 Timothy are: (1) that Paul had recently been at Troas, Corinth, and Miletus (iv. 13, 20); (2) that he was now in Rome (i. 17); (3) that he had been tried (iv. 16); (4) that he was still a prisoner (i. 8, 16; ii. 9); (5) that he believed himself near the end of his life (iv. 6); and (6) that he hoped shortly to see Timothy (iv. 9, 21). Some of these data agree very

well with the first imprisonment; but others seem irreconcilable with the idea that the letter dates from that period. Before coming to Rome the first time Paul had been two years in Cæsarea, and could not have spoken of having recently been at Troas.

The data given us in the letter to Titus are: (1) that Paul had been with Titus in Crete, and had left him there (i. 5); and (2) that he meant to winter in Nicopolis (iii. 12). All attempts to find a place for these data in the recorded life of Paul have been in vain.

It appears then that in the life of Paul, so far as recorded in the Book of *Acts*, there is no room for the Pastoral Epistles. But in the Prison Epistles we have found anticipations of acquittal and departure from Rome, which, to say the least, make it doubtful whether Paul's life ended in the year 64. And it is remarkable that in anticipating deliverance he expresses also intentions regarding his future movements which perfectly correspond with the actual route implied in 1 Tim. i. 3. In writing to Philemon he requested that a lodging might be prepared for him, intimating thereby that he meant to make Colossæ his first destination. But in writing to the Philippians at nearly the same time he had expressed the further intention of visiting Macedonia (Phil. ii. 24), which he would naturally fulfil by passing through Ephesus on his way from Colossæ. As there is, then, no historical evidence that Paul did not survive the year 64, and as these Pastoral Epistles were recognised as Pauline in the immediately succeeding age, we may legitimately accept them as

evidence* that Paul did survive the year 64—that he was acquitted, resumed his missionary labours, was again arrested and brought to Rome, and from this second imprisonment in the city wrote the Second Epistle to Timothy—his last extant writing.

These epistles do not stand alone as evidence of the acquittal and second imprisonment of Paul. In the Muratorian fragment (circa 170 A.D.) the journey of Paul to Spain is spoken of as if it were a well-known fact.† Clement of Rome had long before used language (*Ep.* c. v.) which is indeed variously understood, but which it is not unreasonable to suppose alludes to the same journey. "Paul . . . having become a herald both in the east and in the west, received the noble renown of his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the boundary of the west,‡ and having witnessed before the rulers, he thus departed from the world." Critics who deny Paul's acquittal understand the "boundary of the west" to mean Rome. Considering that Clement was himself in Rome, with half the Roman empire lying to the west of him, it seems extremely improbable that he should have spoken of that city as "the boundary of the west," especially as he must have known that Paul had intended to go much farther west than Rome. The

* See this ably argued by Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 497—500.

† The words are "Lucas optime Theophilo comprendit, quia sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis." On the meaning of the whole sentence, see Westcott, *Canon*, 479.

‡ *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως.*

best modern editors of Clement's Epistle (Lightfoot and Gebhardt and Harnack) are agreed that the expression means Spain.* Moved by these evidences Renan, though he rejects the Pastoral Epistles, believes in the acquittal of Paul, and in his resumption of missionary labours. And while the language of Clement is not without ambiguity, the balance of probability does seem to incline that way. We conclude, therefore, that there is room for these epistles in the life of Paul, though not in that portion of his life which is recorded in the Book of Acts.

2. The second difficulty in the way of accepting these epistles is found in the traces which they betray of an ecclesiastical organization and theological development which belong to an age later than the Pauline. Baur finds in the *ἀντιθέσεις* of 1 Tim. vi. 20 an allusion to Marcion's work of that name, and in the *μάχαι νομικαί* of Titus iii. 9 further allusions to Marcion's tenets. Others have found allusions to Valentinian or Ophite ideas; but Holtzmann has shown that no definite sect of Gnostics is aimed at, but rather that an incipient Gnosticism not yet formulated is in view.

The condition described in the Pastoral Epistles is rather that of a soil prepared for Gnosticism, than that of an already developed heresy. As Weiss says, "It was not a question of actual error that denied or

* "Bishop Pearson (*Minor Theol. Works*, i. 362) quotes in illustration a passage from Philostratus (v. 4) in which Gades is said to lie *κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα*." Wace, in *Speaker's Commentary*; his introduction to the Pastoral Epistles is an admirable summary.

combated the truth of salvation, a fact that has constantly been ignored or directly contradicted; but of teaching strange things that had nothing to do with saving truth (1 Tim. i. 3; vi. 3), of foolish and presumptuous enquiry (2 Tim. ii. 23; Tit. iii. 9) respecting things of which nothing is or can actually be known (1 Tim. i. 7; vi. 4); which, moreover, are altogether unprofitable and empty of truth (Tit. iii. 9), so that they lead only to vain talk (*ματαιολογία*, 1 Tim. i. 6, cf. Tit. i. 10), to profane babbling, destitute of all true religious value (*βέβηλαι κενοφωνίαι*, 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 16). Those who occupy themselves with such things think by this means to attain to and participate in knowledge of an exceptionally high character (1 Tim. vi. 20, *ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις*)."

So also Godet says:* "The danger here is of substituting intellectualism in religion for piety of heart and life. Had the writer been a Christian of the second century trying, under the name of Paul, to stigmatise the Gnostic systems, he would certainly have used much stronger expressions to describe their character and influence." Of that there can be no doubt. The writer enters into no direct polemic with the heretical teachers, but merely in a passing and incidental manner warns Timothy against them. The *ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις* and the "endless genealogies" do, however, identify these teachers with incipient Gnosticism,† while the use they made of "the Law" and "Jewish fables," as well as their comparison to Jannes and Jambres, identify them as Jews. In fact, the class of

* *Expositor*, Jan. 1888.

† See Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, p. 56.

persons alluded to in these epistles is not essentially different from the teachers referred to in Colossians.

That the epistles imply an ecclesiastical organization in advance of that which their supposed date warrants can scarcely be maintained. The letters themselves were written because as yet there was no definite, well-understood organization. They were meant to guide Timothy and Titus in matters so fundamental as the character requisite in those who were ordained as elders and deacons. Besides, we find in these epistles precisely what was characteristic of apostolic times, and not of the second century, the plurality and equality of presbyters in each Church. There is no trace of the monarchical episcopate elevating itself above the presbyterial administration. For the tradition mentioned by Eusebius, that Timothy was "bishop" of Ephesus and Titus "bishop" of Crete, is refuted by the letters themselves, which amply prove that the office, if such it may be called, held by these friends of Paul was merely temporary.

3. The third difficulty arises from the un-Pauline character of the phraseology. (1) There occurs an unusual number of Hapax legomena. In 1 Timothy there are seventy-four words which do not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. In 2 Timothy there are forty-six such words, and in Titus twenty-eight. The impression made by these numbers is, however, considerably modified when we read the lists of these words,* and find them largely composed of very common Greek words, such as ἄλλως, ῥητῶς, σωτήριος, φρονττίζειν, σωφρόνως, τεκνογονεῖν, and so on. No one

* Holzmann's *Pastoralbriefe*, 86, 87.

can read these lists without perceiving that, if Paul has not elsewhere used the word, it is because he had no occasion to mention the thing—*e.g.*, *γόης*, *χαλκεύς*, *γραώδης*, *πρεσβύτις*, *μητραλῴης*, etc. Still, with all deductions, there remains a sufficient number of words to excite remark, especially when we recognise that these new words are to some extent unusual compound words such as *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, *καλοδιδάσκαλος*. (2) Perhaps it is even more staggering to find that the use of particles in these epistles differs from that which is found in the Pauline epistles. Thus *ἄρα*, *διό*, *ἔπειτα*, *ἴδε*, *ἰδού*, *μήπως*, *οὐκέτι*, *ὥσπερ*, do not occur. This, however, may be satisfactorily accounted for by the character of the epistles. They are not argumentative, and do not require to employ such particles as *ἄρα* and *διό*.

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is in the singular position of being a book of unquestioned canonicity, but of unknown authorship. Modern critics are agreed in disregarding its occasional rejection in ancient times, and in allowing its adequate treatment of an important subject, its final adjustment of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, its skilful composition and flexible style, to win for it a secure place in the New Testament canon. And yet of its authorship we can only say with Origen, "Who wrote this epistle God alone certainly knows."

1. In the Latin or Western Church the tradition is against the Pauline authorship. Clement of Rome

(circa 93) freely quotes the epistle, but on no occasion does he name its author. The Muratorian Canon reckons only thirteen epistles of Paul, and omits that to the Hebrews. So too Caius, a presbyter of Rome (c. 200) (cited by Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 20), ascribes to Paul only thirteen epistles, and leaves out *Hebrews*. Irenæus and Hippolytus are said (Photius quoting Stephan Gobar) to have denied the Pauline authorship, and certainly Irenæus, in his work against Heresies, cites every epistle of Paul's except the short Epistle to Philemon and that to the Hebrews. This negative tradition of the Western Church passes into positive repudiation of the Pauline authorship in the African branch of that church. Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, 20) says, "I am unwilling to superadd the testimony of a companion of the apostles. For there is extant an epistle addressed to the Hebrews by Barnabas, a man of such authority that Paul ranked him with himself in 1 Cor. ix. 6." He then identifies the epistle as our *Epistle to the Hebrews* by citing Heb. vi. 4—8. From the manner in which Tertullian refers to the epistle we should gather that it was not merely his private opinion that Barnabas was the author, but an opinion uncontradicted in his country.

2. Passing to the Eastern Church we find a very different tradition. Here the uniform popular belief was that the epistle belonged to Paul. And "what we observe in Alexandria is the very interesting spectacle of a struggle between the inherited tradition and theological scholarship, in which the latter is seen putting forth a variety of efforts to reconcile the results of its own observation of the epistle with the

external tradition." * Thus, as early as the middle of the second century, Pantænus is found striving to explain the absence of Paul's name from the epistle, which he accounts for by Paul's modest reluctance to call himself the apostle to the Hebrews, as the Lord Himself had been sent to the Hebrews.† In the end of the second century Clement of Alexandria accounts for the absence of Paul's name, on the ground that, as the Hebrews had imbibed prejudices against him, his name might deter them from reading the epistle. He also affirms that Paul wrote it in Hebrew, and Luke carefully translated it for the use of the Greeks. Origen's opinion may be gathered from his words :‡ "I should say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the language and composition belong to some one who recorded what the Apostle said, and, as it were, noted down what his master had spoken. If, then, any Church receives this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this, for not without reason have the ancient men handed it down as the work of Paul. But who it was that really wrote the epistle God only knows. The account, however, that has been current before us is, according to some, that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote it; according to others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts." It is obvious that these writers are aware of a tradition which refers the epistle to Paul, but that from the first difficulties had been felt in reconciling with this tradition the actual peculiarities of the epistle.

* *Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Prof. A. B. Davidson, p. 29.
† Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 14. ‡ Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 25.

3. From the fifth century to the reformation the epistle was accepted with rare exceptions as Pauline. This was due to the influence of Jerome and Augustine, especially the latter. Jerome's mode of citing the epistle reveals his dubiety: "The epistle which, under the name of Paul, is written to the Hebrews;" "He who writes to the Hebrews;" "The Apostle Paul, or whoever else wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews." Augustine vacillates, sometimes counting this epistle among Paul's, sometimes citing it anonymously, sometimes declaring that he is moved by the authority of the Oriental Churches. The progress of opinion during the lifetime of Augustine is distinctly marked by the decisions of councils. In the Council of Hippo in 393, while Augustine was still a presbyter, and in the third Council of Carthage, held in 398, the prevalent dubiety was indicated in the enumeration, "Of the Apostle Paul thirteen epistles: of the same to the Hebrews one." But in the fifth Council of Carthage in 419, where Augustine was also present, the somewhat meaningless distinction is abandoned and the enumeration boldly runs: "Of the epistles of Paul in number fourteen."

4. In later times the authorship of the epistle has been much debated. Erasmus advocated the claims of Clement, while Luther suggested that Apollos was the author. In this idea he has been followed by several recent critics (Tholuck, Bleek, Farrar, Hilgenfeld), while with others (Renan, Salmon*) Tertullian's

* "The place of the epistle in our Bible testifies to the lateness of the recognition of the epistle as Paul's in the West, . . . this order, after Paul's acknowledged letters, is

ascription of the letter to Barnabas is supposed to be correct. Many, however, still hold the Pauline authorship.

From this brief recital of opinion it will be evident that we must depend mainly on internal evidence for the ascertainment of the authorship of this epistle. An examination of the epistle proves: (1) that it is not a translation. Not only are the citations of the Old Testament taken from the LXX., but its language is woven into the argument. There are also plays upon words and alliterations (v. 8; ix. 15—18; x. 38, 39; xi. 37; xiii. 14)* impossible in a translation. The freedom of the style is also evidence in the same direction. (2) The author was a Jew. He addresses Jewish readers as one of themselves. (3) He was, however, a Hellenist, a Jew in contact with Greek thought and using the LXX.† (4) He was acquainted with the writings of Paul.‡ (5) He was not an apostle, but

that which prevails in later, and especially in Western, MSS. But the earliest order of all concerning which we have information is that of the archetype from which the Vatican MS. was copied. In the Vatican MS. itself, and in other Eastern MSS. this epistle comes after that to the Thessalonians, and before the letters to individuals; but the numbering of the sections shows that the Vatican MS. was copied from one in which the Hebrews stood still higher in the rank of Pauline epistles and came next after that to the Galatians. The Thebaic version placed it even a step higher, viz., immediately before the Epistle to the Galatians."—*Salmon*, 519.

* See Holtzmann, 314; and Alford.

† For coincidence of his language with Philo's see Carpzov's *Sacræ Exercitationes*.

‡ This is put beyond a doubt by the parallels in Bleek, Holtzmann, and Salmon.

one who had received his knowledge of the truth at second-hand (see ii. 3). Some of these characteristics oppose the Pauline authorship. Paul uses the Hebrew and not the Greek Bible; and his formulæ of citation are also different from those employed by this author. Paul never speaks of himself as receiving the gospel through the ministry of others. His epistles are never impersonal but always overflowing with personal feeling and abounding in personal references. But convincing as these features of the epistle are, it is the language and the thought which prove it un-Pauline. The language of Paul is rugged and disjointed and impetuous; while this epistle is distinguished by rhetorical skill, studied antithesis, even flow of faultless grammar, and measured march of rhythmical periods."*

Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the relation which the doctrine of the epistle holds to Paulinism. By some critics it is believed to represent

* "Diversity of style is more easily felt by the reader than expressed by the critic, without at least a tedious analysis of language; one simple and tangible test presents itself, however, in the use of connecting particles, inasmuch as these determine the structure of sentences. A minute comparison of these possesses therefore real importance in the differentiation of language. Now in the epistles of St. Paul εἴ τις occurs 50 times, εἴτε 63, ποτε (in affirmative clauses) 19, εἶτα (in enumerations) 6, εἰ δὲ καί 4, εἴπερ 5, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή 3, εἴγε 4, μήπως 12, μηκέτι 10, μενοῦνγε 3, ἐάν 88 times, while none of them are found in the epistle except ἐάν and that only once (or twice) except in quotations. On the other hand, ὅθεν which occurs 6 times, and ἐάνπερ which occurs 3 times in the epistle are never used by St. Paul."—Rendall, p. 27; *Theology of Hebrew Christians.*

the early apostolic Jewish Christianity as distinct from Paulinism (Schutz, Planck, Riehm, Weiss); to others it seems to have been written by one of the Pauline school (Neander, Delitzsch); some find in it Paulinism modified by Alexandrianism (Pfleiderer, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath). The point of view is certainly not that of the Apostle to the Gentiles. To this writer there are no Gentiles and no question of circumcision and uncircumcision. The writer occupies a position regarding the law which is slightly in advance of Paul's, though it does not disagree with it. He considers the law to be the Divinely appointed preparation for the gospel, as Paul also did. The house ruled by Moses and by Christ is one house. But the law "made nothing perfect;" it was a thing of shadow and symbol; the reality is of Christ. The coming of Christ therefore involves the obsolescence of the law. The Jew is as free from it as the Gentile. All this, however, was involved in Paul's teaching (although the law is spoken of more disparagingly, vii. 16—18, than in Paul's writings). The death of Christ is also viewed in this epistle as a priestly act; in addition to what we learn from Paul this writer developes the significance of Christ's priesthood, as well as of His sonship. On the other hand, we miss the subjective and so-called mystical treatment of the believer's connection with Christ's death—a theme never absent from Paul's thoughts.

But if not Paul, who wrote this remarkable letter? One who spoke of Timothy as brother (xiii. 23), as Paul spoke of him as son. One, therefore, of the younger companions of Paul. Luke, Clement, Titus,

Silas, Barnabas, Apollos, Mark, have all been thought of. But in behalf of most of these names there is nothing positive to urge. The description of Apollos in Acts xviii. 24, is decidedly in his favour; but the circumstance that so far as we know his labours were confined to the Greek cities on the Ægean sea presents a considerable difficulty.* In favour of Barnabas' claim is the positive affirmation of Tertullian, and much that we know about him.† But probably the only safe conclusion is that of Mr. Rendall: "I see little hope of our recovering now a name which was mere matter of conjecture in the second century." And in these circumstances Dr. Bruce's reflection may appear suitable,‡ "It seems fitting that the author of an epistle which begins by virtually proclaiming God as the only speaker in Scripture, and Jesus Christ as the one speaker in the New Testament, should himself retire out of sight into the background."

Neither is it quite easy to determine for what readers the epistle was intended. That the title "To the Hebrews" is correct may be inferred from the contents of the epistle. But was it addressed to the Jewish Christian Churches as a whole (Reuss), or to some particular Church or Churches? That the latter is the correct view appears not only from the salutation and personal references at the close (xiii. 23, 24),

* "The silence of primitive tradition appears to me conclusive against the theory."—*Rendall*, p. 18.

† His claims and their inadmissibility are well stated by Godet in the *Expositor*, April, 1888.

‡ *Expositor*, March, 1888.

but also from allusions here and there in the body of the letter to circumstances which must have been peculiar to particular Churches (v. 11, 12; x. 34). Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Palestine, have all been advocated as the probable destination of the letter. On the whole, the opinion that the writer addressed some Church in or near Palestine is the most defensible. His appeals are directed to persons who were in danger of falling back into Judaism, owing to the hold which their hereditary forms of worship and the fascination of the visible temple had over them. "Jerusalem was the home of Jewish conservatism, and all the influences there tended to develop and strengthen even in Christian circles a reactionary spirit." But a letter addressed to the Church of Jerusalem could scarcely have used language which implies that it had furnished no martyrs (xii. 4), nor could it have spoken of that Church as deriving its knowledge of Christ indirectly and not from Himself (ii. 3). And even though the writer, being a Hellenist, might naturally use Greek to whomsoever he was writing, there is some weight in the objection that any one writing to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem would naturally use Aramaic. We must, therefore, find the original recipients of the letter in some Church outside Jerusalem, and possibly beyond Palestine itself, but composed largely of Jewish Christians. Probably those who read Mr. Rendall's careful discussion of the subject will agree with his conclusion: "To one of these great Syrian cities, perhaps to Antioch itself, I conceive the epistle to have been addressed; for there alone existed flourishing Chris-

tian Churches, founded by the earliest missionaries of the Gospel, animated with Jewish sympathies, full of interest in the Mosaic worship, and glorying in the name of Hebrews; who nevertheless spoke the Greek language, used the Greek version of the Scriptures, and numbered amongst their members converts who had, like the author, combined the highest advantages of Greek culture with careful study of the Old Testament, and especially of the sacrificial law."

But if we cannot certainly name the particular Church to which this epistle was addressed, we may at least hope to ascertain the condition in which its members were. It is apparent that the letter was prompted by the writer's desire to check the beginnings of apostasy or tendencies towards it which were making themselves visible among those to whom he writes. The practical purpose of the letter appears at once, and as early in the letter as chap. ii. 1 the writer betrays his fear lest his readers might already have been drifting away from their moorings. This purpose to encourage, to stimulate, to prevent relapse and apostasy, to check faint-heartedness and unbelief, appears throughout the epistle (iii. 6, 14; iv. 1, 11; vi. 1—8, 11, 12; x. 23, 36—39; xii. 1, etc.). The writer has observed a disposition to "turn back"; he fears that some may not hold fast their profession. This wavering has been occasioned by their exposure to persecution (xii. 1—8), but this persecution was not of a severe kind (xii. 4), such as they had at an earlier period been subjected to (x. 32—34), and had "joyfully" endured. They seem rather to be now exposed to the privations which result from social

excommunication, and to the inroad of doubts which were insinuated into their minds by the arguments of their former co-religionists, the Jews. These doubts had not as yet availed to cause them to apostatize, but they had dimmed their vision and numbed their energies. They had been twitted with adopting a religion which had neither temple, priest, nor altar; with choosing as their king and leader one who had suffered death; with abandoning a religion which had been ordained by God, mediated by angels, administered by Moses. And although they still adhered to Christianity, they were so moved by this "contradiction of sinners," that they had admitted questionings whether they were not perhaps making sacrifices and exposing themselves to privations for a mistake.

The writer knows that if only they can once see the real glory of Christ and His religion, all these doubts will vanish, and accordingly he proceeds to send them such an exposition of that glory as is in point of fact a magnificent apologetic for Christianity from the Jewish point of view. Comparing Christ with the angels, with Moses, and with the Aaronic priesthood, he demonstrates the superiority, the reality and perfectness, of the religion of Christ. This comparison occupies the first seven chapters. The writer then, after a brief summing up of what he has already said, proceeds to exhibit the superiority of the second to the first covenant (viii. 6—13), and of the true, God-pitched tabernacle and the salvation therein accomplished to the first, man-made tabernacle with its furniture and sacrifices (ix.1—x. 18). On this demonstration of the perfect and eternal character

of the religion of Christ and of its superiority as the medium through which men are brought nigh to God, the author founds a forcible appeal and exhorts his readers to draw near to God and to hold fast their profession (x. 19—25). This exhortation he enforces by warnings (x. 26—31), by awakening remembrances of better times (32—39), and by the rapid, suggestive, and eloquent survey of their predecessors in faith (xi.), and of Him whose example of faith and endurance is perfect (xii. 1—4). This strain of exhortation is continued through the twelfth chapter, and the epistle closes with miscellaneous admonitions.

From the manner in which the Levitical services are spoken of it is generally* gathered that the epistle cannot have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is impossible to suppose that a writer wishing to demonstrate the evanescent nature of the Levitical dispensation, and writing after the Temple services had been discontinued, should not have pointed to that event as strengthening his argument. How could he possibly have used such language as that of x. 2, regarding such services, if already they had ceased to be offered?† Mr. Rendall very strongly argues for a date *immediately* preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. "I conceive that the fatal year A.D. 70 had arrived, and the Roman armies had gathered round Jerusalem. . . . The approaching end of the sanctuary is the thought which underlies the whole epistle, and furnishes the only satisfactory

* Though Holtzmann and some others give it a later date.

† See this forcibly put in Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung*, p. 331.

key to its contents." But it is difficult to suppose that had this been the date, there would have been no more direct reference to the impending event or the present distress, a distress in which the Jews were more likely to suffer than the Jewish Christians. The epistle may, therefore, be assigned to the year 66 or 67. It was possibly written from Italy, but the words "they of Italy (ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας) salute you" certainly are more naturally understood to imply that some Christians had come from Italy to the place where the writer was at the date of the epistle. These same travellers may have brought the news recorded in the preceding verse, that Timothy had been set at liberty. For in all probability Timothy had gone to Rome in answer to Paul's urgent request (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21), and had there shared his friend's imprisonment, though not his condemnation and fate. Timothy, we gather from the same closing verses of our epistle, was shortly to leave Rome and to arrive at the place where the writer was.

EPISTLE OF JAMES.

Among the Catholic epistles, that of James stands first.* It is addressed "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad;" † in other words, to the Jewish Christians dwelling beyond Palestine. The merely national meaning of "the twelve tribes" is

* "Quia ipse Hierosolymorum regendam suscepit Ecclesiam." —*Beda, Prologue to Cath. Ep.*

† ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, in the Dispersion; cf. Deut. xxviii. 25.

excluded by the fact that the writer as "a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ" addresses them as holding the faith of the same Lord (ii. 1). Neither can "the twelve tribes" denote the spiritual Israel, the Church of Christ, whether Jewish or Gentile, for the epistle is Jewish in every line. The Hebrew Christians throughout the world are addressed. And the chief difficulty is not, to see how this small document should find its way from town to town and Church to Church, for the constant intercommunication might accomplish that; but it is, to reconcile this large, universal address with descriptions of Church life which cannot readily be accepted as universal; see v. 6; iii. 1; v. 4; ii. 2.

The state of matters among the Jewish Christians which this letter discloses is not a happy one. Not only had the members of the Church suffered, from unexplained causes, strange reversals of fortune (i. 9, 10); but no such attainment in character as might be expected of Christians, had been made. Of heathen grossness there is indeed no word; but worldly greed and the pride of life and selfish cruelty that come of greed abounded (iv. 1; v. 9). The distinction between rich and poor had been accentuated in unseemly angling for rich proselytes (ii. 2), and in heartless contempt of the poor (ii. 3). And at the root of all lay a contentment with superficial knowledge and bare profession of faith (ii. 14), an otiose creed, and a practical denial of the truth that life is a training ground for the making of "perfected" (i. 4) men, and that only by trials or temptations can men be trained. Very forcibly and

writer denounce these vices. The
ut ethical. It is, as it has been
on the Mount among the epistles.
anity as the ethical fulfilment of
ng into the perfect law of liberty
therein, by manfully enduring
ople of God are to be perfected,
rown of life. The faith of Christ
not in wrangling and pretentious
in exemplary and meek conduct
7). The Christian is to be the
iii. 2).

s eschewed in the epistle is there-
Not so easily is it understood why
motives are not urged. There are
ristian allusions (i. 1; ii. 1; ii. 7;
h spoken of in chap. ii. is Christian
notwithstanding ii. 19). And the
has in view throughout is the law
the life of Christ and which His
keep, "the law of liberty," "the
5).* The word also by which God
Jewish Christians (i. 18), the word of truth, the engrafted word, can be nothing else than the Gospel of Christ.† While too there is no teaching about Christ, there is throughout the clearest echo of Christ's teaching.‡ Everywhere the language of the epistle recalls the language of our

* Cf. Barnabas ii. 6 : ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἄνευ ζυγοῦ.

† See Lechler, i. 293 ff.

‡ As Beyschlag says : "Essentially it is the teaching of Christ, and thus there is little teaching about Christ."

Lord.* The style also is similar; the brief, compressed sayings and the frequent use of figure.† This would seem to argue that the James who wrote the letter was a contemporary and friend of Jesus.

Other marks of date there are, but all contested. There is no allusion to the great controversy about circumcision and the Mosaic law, which occupies so much space in the writings of Paul. Does this imply that our epistle was written before that controversy arose (as Neander, Lechler, Hofmann, Salmon, suppose) or after it had died out (as is held by Hausrath)? The epistle was written at a time when few of the richer Jews were Christians; the membership of the Church was mainly filled from the poorer classes (ii. 5), and the rich are characterized by greed and oppression. If the rich men apostrophized in v. 1 are not Christians but Jews, and if those visitors to the Christian meeting came as guests or spectators and not as fellow-worshippers, then this relation of the Jewish Christian to the Jewish population belongs to a date at which as yet the Christians were a sect within the Jewish community. The reference in v. 6 is so uncertain that to base an argument upon it cannot be considered safe. But the Christian place of meeting is still the "synagogue" (ii. 2), either the Jewish synagogue or at all events a place so distinctively Jewish as to be naturally called the

* Cf. v. 12, Matt. v. 37; i. 22, Matt. vii. 26; i. 25, John xiii. 17; ii. 5, Luke vi. 20; iv. 10, Matt. xxiii. 12; iv. 12, Matt. vii. 1; i. 5, Matt. vii. 7; i. 4, Matt. v. 48; iv. 9, Luke vi. 25. See Salmon, pp. 569-70.

† See i. 6, 11, 17, 23; iii. 3, 4, 5—12.

synagogue. The officials of the Church are also presbyters (v. 14), and there is no word of any bishop.

But these signs of an early date must be otherwise interpreted, if it is found that the writer of this epistle made use of the epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 Peter, and the gospels. Certainly the discussion of the relation of faith and works, in the second chapter, does not prove the writer's acquaintance with Paul's position. Rather it must be accepted as evidence against such acquaintance, for it is incredible that with a knowledge of the Pauline letters he could have said just so much and no more. He is in perfect agreement with Paul's teaching, and had he known the Epistle to the Romans, he could hardly have failed to affirm his agreement, or at any rate to accommodate his language to that of Paul. The passages commonly cited to prove the writer's acquaintance with the Epistle to Romans are chiefly i. 3 (cf. Rom. v. 3, 4), i. 22 (Rom. ii. 13), iv. 1 (Rom. vii. 23), iv. 4 (Rom. viii. 7).* Considering that both the thoughts and the vocabulary of Paul and James must have been to a considerable extent identical, these passages can hardly be accepted as proof that James had seen the Epistle to the Romans. "Doers of the law," "hearers of the law," "enmity against God"—how constantly must such terms have been heard on Jewish lips. The idea that the trial of faith works patience is common to

* Parallels to other epistles of Paul consist solely of the recurrence of single words which happen to have been used by Paul.

Paul and to James; but was there ever any Christian who had not this idea? Besides, the mould in which the idea is cast is quite different in the two letters.

The analogies to the Epistle to the Hebrews are superficially striking. In Heb. xii. 11, we find "the peaceable fruit of righteousness" (καρπὸς εἰρηνικὸς δικαιοσύνης) while in James iii. 18 we have "the fruit of righteousness in peace" (καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης ἐν εἰρήνῃ). But the idea in the one passage is quite different from the thought of the other. In James the idea is that those who make peace sow righteousness; in other words, that out of unity and kindliness springs righteousness. The thought in Hebrews is that out of chastisement with all its pain, perplexity, and trouble, there springs serene and untroubled righteousness. So far then as appears from the writer's supposed use of other epistles, this Epistle of James may be of an earlier date than the rest; and so far as signs of date are concerned, it may have been written by a contemporary of the Lord.*

With none of the three contemporaries of the Lord mentioned in the New Testament under the name of James does the writer of our epistle explicitly identify himself—not with James "the brother of John," nor with James "the less," literally "the little" (Mark xv. 40), nor with James the "Lord's brother" (Gal.

* Davidson (i. 313) is of opinion that "the production is a post-Pauline one, proceeding from a Jewish Christian or Ebionite." He does not think it as late as the second century; but most probably of date A.D. 69 or 70. Hilgenfeld puts it later, in the reign of Domitian. Baur, Zeller, Hausrath, and others put it in the second century.

i. 19). The authority with which the writer speaks, combined with the circumstance that he does not call himself an apostle, is generally supposed to point to James the Lord's brother; * who, though he withheld his adhesion to the faith while Jesus lived, seems to have been convinced by the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 7), and to have early occupied the place of greatest influence among the disciples at Jerusalem. To him Peter sent the news of his release (Acts xii. 17); in the council at Jerusalem he presided (Acts xv.); and it is still James to whom Paul reports himself on a subsequent occasion (Acts xxi. 18). Among the unbelieving Jews, as well as among the Christians, he won universal respect by his unblemished character and the severe sanctity of his life. This respect seems not to have been diminished by his attachment to the new faith, for that attachment did not make him less, but more a patriot and an upholder of the law. His holiness seemed to the people to stand between them and the calamities that were felt to be impending, so that they called him Obliam, the bulwark of the people.† His martyrdom must have taken place between A.D. 62 and 63.

* The claims of James, the son of Zebedee, are strongly urged by Mr. Bassett in his Introduction to the Epistle.

† Eusebius (*H.E.*, ii. 23) preserves from Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian of the second century, the following account of James: "James was holy from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor any intoxicating drink, and ate no flesh meat. His head was not touched with a razor, he did not anoint himself with oil or make use of the bath. He alone was permitted to enter into the sanctuary, for his garment was not of wool but of linen. He alone entered into the

The right of this epistle to a place in the canon was early canvassed. Eusebius * tells us that it was classed among the *antilegomena*, that it was not mentioned by many of the older writers, but that it was read in the churches. Jerome † gives a similar account of it: "James wrote only one epistle. . . . It is asserted that this was published by some other person under his name, though as time went on, it by degrees obtained authority." Origen is the first to quote it by name, and his manner of doing so shows that he was aware that doubts as to its authorship might be entertained (ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ). Clement of Alexandria does not appear to have known it; nor is it mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment. But the Peshito has it, and if the allusions in Clement of Rome are uncertain, there can be no doubt that Hermas made very large use of it.‡ Its canonicity was settled by the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, but was denied at the Reformation by Erasmus, Cajetan, and others.

The language of the epistle has given rise to much discussion. The style is Jewish in its abruptness;

temple, and he was found prostrate on his knees praying for forgiveness for the nation, so that his knees became hard like those of the camel . . . On account of his extraordinary righteousness, he was called the 'just.'" A careful examination of the tradition regarding James will be found in Lechler, i. 59—66. The entire passage in Eusebius should be read; and reference should be made to Stanley's *Apostolical Age*, p. 319.

* *H. E.*, ii. 23.

† *De Vir. Illustr.*, 3.

‡ See Salmon, 562; or Kirchhofer.

but the Greek is pure,* and the vocabulary seems to indicate that the author was well read in Greek classical literature. Hence Bishop Wordsworth argues for an Aramaic original, a hypothesis which he supports by a minute examination of the Old Latin Version. This hypothesis cannot be said to be established, but it is well worth the attention of scholars. That James should have adopted the same method as his countryman Josephus, and have originally composed his letter in Aramaic, and then have had it translated into Greek with the aid of some one who was master of both languages is in itself probable and accounts for the facts. The Gospel and the Epistles of John are as well written as this epistle, but the vocabulary employed by John is the colloquial vocabulary and not the literary,† whereas in the Epistle of James words occur which would hardly be used save by a writer acquainted with Greek literature. There are thirteen words in this short letter which are not found in the Septuagint; and though a certain proportion of these are common words, three or four of them are not so. Besides these there are seven very rare words, *ἀνέλεος*, *ἀνεμιζόμενος*, *ἀπείραστος*, *ἀποσκίασμα*, *δαιμονιώδης*, *θρῆσκος*, *χρυσοδακτύλιος*. And among the twenty-seven words which James uses in common with both Septuagint and classics, some are words which would scarcely be picked up by hearing colloquial Greek.

* An exact analysis of its language is given in *Studia Biblica*, p. 149.

† Cf. Bunyan's style; perfectly lucid and harmonious but constructed with merely the colloquial material available to an uneducated man.

While therefore it might perhaps be rash to say that this letter could not have been written by a Palestinian Jew who habitually used the Septuagint, the probability seems on the whole to be that if written either by James, the son of Zebedee, or by James the Lord's brother, it would first be composed in Aramaic and then be rendered into Greek.

FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

This epistle claims to be from the hand of the Apostle Peter, and it was universally accepted as genuine by the early Church. Eusebius mentions it among the undisputed books of the New Testament. It is found in the Syriac and Old Latin versions. It is referred to in 2 Peter iii. 1, which, whether written by Peter or not, is certainly a very ancient document. It is freely used by Polycarp, and echoes of it are heard in the Epistle to Diognetus. Papias also used it, and by Irenæus and Tertullian it was undoubtingly accepted;* so that Renan's language† is not too strong when he says, "The First of Peter is one of the writings of the New Testament which are the most anciently and the most unanimously cited as authentic."

Neither is internal evidence altogether awanting. We have indeed not much material for forming an idea of Peter's style; but knowing that he was a

* Polycarp, *ad Phil.*, 1; 2; 8; Papias in Eus., *H.E.*, iii. 39; Iren., *ad Hær.*, IV. ix. 2; Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, 12.

† Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, p. vii.

companion of the Lord's, we should expect this to colour to some extent anything he might write. Neither are we disappointed. He claims to be a witness of the sufferings of Christ (v. 1), and seems to differentiate himself from those who had not seen Christ (i. 8). His exhortation to the presbyters (v. 2), "feed the flock," recalls Christ's parting command to himself (John xxi. 16). In v. 5 he uses the expression "gird on, like a slave's apron, humility," which naturally takes us back to the scene in the upper chamber, when Peter had seen the Lord gird Himself and do the slave's office. And the passage (ii. 20—25) in which the writer sets before his readers the great example of unmerited and submissive suffering, is certainly very agreeable to the idea that he had seen Christ buffeted and heard Him reviled. The rich practical teaching of the epistle, and its strongly hopeful tone, may also be accepted in evidence of its apostolic authorship.

Against this evidence it is pleaded that the allusions to persecution found in the epistle do not accord with the historical conditions during the lifetime of Peter. If we are to find circumstances which agree with those implied in the epistle, we must come down at any rate as far as Trajan. It is only then that the very name of Christian (iv. 16) was enough to condemn a man. Baur and, with certain modifications, his followers call attention to the decidedly Pauline tone of the letter, and argue that it must have been written by a Paulinist with the purpose of conciliating the Jewish Christians by adducing the name and teaching of Peter in confirmation of Pauline doctrine.

Both these objections touch points of interest and importance in the epistle.

It is apparent (i. 6; iv. 12, etc.) that the letter was written to Christians who were suffering for their religion. But the persecution to which they were being subjected does not appear to have been instituted by the magistrate or governor of the district in which they lived, but to have been of a social kind. The Christians addressed in the letter had refused to join their old associates in "excess of riot" (iv. 4), and were therefore calumniated. They were spoken against as evil-doers (iii. 16; ii. 12), and they were invoked by Peter to prove by their conduct that these accusations were false (iii. 16; ii. 12). These accusations therefore were social calumnies, and not legal indictments. Indeed Peter hints (iii. 13) that to be free from persecution they have only to continue in well-doing, each in his own position, whether as servant (ii. 18—25), as wife (iii. 1—6), or as husband (iii. 7). There is no allusion to trials before the authorities, nor to imprisonment, nor to death; so that it is needless to suppose either with Mayerhoff and others that the Neronian persecution is referred to, or with Baur, Hilgenfeld, and others that the persecution under Trajan had commenced. Even the strongest passage adduced in favour of these views (iv. 16) will not bear such an interpretation. It is "reproach" (iv. 14) they suffered as Christians, and the fear was that they would be "ashamed" of this reproach, and their deliverance from it was still to be by unmurmuring patience and continuance in well-doing (iv. 19).

Baur's idea that the epistle was penned by a Paulinist personating Peter for conciliatory purposes is based on the fact that the epistle presents numerous resemblances in thought and expression to the epistles of Paul. Identity of thought is found in Rom. viii. 17, 18 and 1 Pet. i. 4, 5; Rom. viii. 28—30 and 1 Pet. i. 2; Rom. v. 6 and 1 Pet. iii. 18. The practical exhortations found in 1 Peter can all be paralleled, and seem in many instances to be verbally derived from Rom. xii. 1—xiii. 14.* The verbal coincidences in these passages are too numerous to admit of any other explanation than that the author of the one letter had access to the other.

Between this epistle and that to the Ephesians there are also resemblances, but these are fainter and rather in thought than in language.† But unfortunately for the theory of Baur, this epistle shows also decided traces of familiarity with the letter of James, the pillar of Judaistic Christianity.‡ Not only may the address of Peter's epistle seem to have been suggested by that of James, but three quotations

* See Holtzmann, p. 488.

† They will be found stated in Salmon, pp. 553-5; and Plumptre on this epistle.

‡ Hatch (*Encyc. Brit.*, Art. *Ep. of Peter*) gives the following coincidences "(1) between 1 Peter and James i. 6, 7 and i. 2, 3; i. 12 and i. 25; i. 22 and iv. 8; ii. 1 and i. 21; iv. 8 and v. 20; v. 5, 9 and iv. 6, 7; v. 6 and iv. 10; (2) between 1 Peter and Romans i. 14 and xii. 2; ii. 5 and xii. 1; ii. 6—10 and ix. 32; ii. 13 and xiii. 1; iii. 9 and xii. 17; iii. 22 and viii. 34; iv. 3, 7 and xiii. 11, 12; iv. 9 and xiii. 13; iv. 10 and xii. 6; (3) between 1 Peter and Ephesians i. 1 *sq.* and i. 3 *sq.*; i. 14 and ii. 3; ii. 18 and vi. 5; iii. 1 and v. 22; iii. 22 and i. 20; v. 5 and v. 21."

from the Old Testament are common to the two epistles (1 Pet. i. 24; iv. 8; v. 5). Such expressions as "manifold temptations," which are common to both epistles, must have been frequent in the lips of Christians, and cannot be founded on; but perhaps the words "the trying of your faith" (1 Pet. i. 7) may be evidence that Peter had read the remarkable passage in *James* i. All that we can conclude therefore from the familiarity with Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which this letter betrays, is that the writer had probably been in Rome after that epistle had reached its destination, or at any rate had seen it, and that the irreconcileable difference which Baur supposes to have existed between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the older apostles is the creation of his own imagination.

We have still to ascertain for whom the epistle was intended. The geographical area within which it was to find its first readers is accurately defined—"Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." But who the elect strangers scattered, ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς, throughout these places are, is doubtful. Weiss and many other critics hold that Diaspora is here used in its usual and unchristianized sense of the Jews who lived outside the Holy Land, and that Peter addresses the Jewish Christians living in the countries named. In favour of this it may not only be pleaded that this is the usual meaning of the word, but that in the letter itself appeal is made to Old Testament Scripture (i. 16; ii. 6, etc.); the prophets of the Jews are familiarly introduced (i. 10); the example of holy women, and especially of Sarah, is

presented (iii. 5, 6); the history of Noah is supposed to be known (iii. 20); and the letter closes with the Jewish salutation, "Peace be with you." On the other hand, it is argued that some knowledge of the Old Testament was always acquired by Gentile converts, even though they had not been formerly proselytes; that the wives spoken of in chap. iii. are said to have become Sarah's children, which shows they cannot have been Jewesses by birth; that the state of the Jews prior to their reception of Christ could scarcely be spoken of as "your ignorance" (i. 14); that the text cited from Hosea (ii. 10) was applied by Paul to Gentiles, and that in iv. 3 the readers seem to be explicitly declared to be Gentiles, and to have been idolaters. It is further argued that as Christians were the spiritual Israel, so the designation "diaspora" might be applied to Christians scattered abroad. The natural objection to this application of the word is that Christians were not "scattered abroad" in these countries; but, if Gentiles, were dwelling in their own homes there. This objection is obviated by the supposition of Dr. Salmon, who feels "much inclined to take the word literally, and to believe that Peter's letter was written to members of the Roman Church whom Nero's persecution had dispersed to seek safety in the provinces, Asia Minor being by no means an unlikely place for them to flee to." This is an inviting interpretation; but the contents of the epistle indicate rather a settled society and an organized Church. It may indeed be accepted as certain that the letter is addressed to all Christians dwelling in the regions named. And that

the Christian Churches of these districts were composed of Gentiles and Jews may also be accepted as certain. The differences which elicited Paul's Epistle to the Galatians had apparently been removed, and now there existed a consolidated Church, in which evidently the Gentile element prevailed. And Peter addresses these composite Christian communities under the designation "elect strangers of the dispersion," from his old Jewish habit of calling all his co-religionists in those foreign parts "the dispersion."

The place where the letter was written is not so undoubted as the explicit naming of it would at first sight lead us to suppose. For though Babylon had, since the captivity, always contained a large Jewish population, it is known that there occurred, in the reign of Caligula, a very considerable exodus from that city. Tradition, too, points rather to the West than to the East as the scene of Peter's apostolic labours. The early ecclesiastical writers,* therefore, believe that under the name "Babylon" Peter means Rome; and this idea has been fostered by Roman Catholic writers, who think they make a point if they establish that Peter was first bishop of the imperial city. But it is naturally asked, If Peter meant Rome why did he not say "Rome"? He is not writing an Apocalypse but a friendly letter, and unless good reason can be shown for his using this figurative style we must adhere to the literal meaning. Besides, it is doubtful if Rome was thought of as Babylon before the Neronian persecution, or before the Apocalypse of John.

The date is also uncertain. It seems likely that

* Eusebius, *H.E.*, ii. 15.

Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome about the year 67 A.D., which accordingly limits the date on the one side. On the other side the date is limited by the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, of which, as we have seen, Peter made use. If he also had seen the Epistle to the Ephesians, this would bring his epistle down to some year subsequent to Paul's imprisonment; so that we should be compelled to place it in the year 65 or 66. Weiss, who holds that this epistle preceded those of Paul, places it in the year 54, before the disturbances alluded to in the Epistle to the Galatians. Bleek and Wieseler find a place for it during the Roman imprisonment of Paul. Among critics who do not accept it as Petrine, some place it in the reign of Domitian, but the great majority, following Baur, find a date for it under Trajan, who in the year 112 authorised the prosecution of Christians.

The object of the letter is practical. It is intended to encourage the Christians who were suffering on account of their faith, and who apparently feared even greater sufferings. The Apostle writes cheerily and hopefully, reminding them that they have an inheritance "incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away," and that, although they may be called to many trials, these will pass away and leave them in possession of a perfect salvation, which will be revealed at the appearing of Christ. This salvation is so great, that it occupied the minds of the prophets, and you are to keep this salvation in view, and strive to be holy, as He who calls you to it is holy. Think, too, of the price that has been paid for your redemption,—Jesus Christ, a lamb without blemish. It is to glorify Him you are called,

and to partake with Him. Therefore, be exemplary among the Gentiles in all social relations, as members of society, servants, wives, husbands. To suffer, doing well, is a grace, and by continuing in well-doing though you suffer, you will convince the Gentiles. Imitate Christ in this, who when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He suffered, threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously. As Christ suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves with the same mind. It will not be for long: the end of all things is at hand.

SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

This epistle claims to have been written by "Simon Peter . . . an apostle of Jesus Christ" (i. 1), and to be the "second" from that hand (iii. 1). The writer accordingly alludes to his having been a companion of the Lord (i. 14), an eye-witness of His majesty (i. 16), one of the apostles (iii. 2), and a friend of Paul's (iii. 15). It is very doubtful whether any of the Apostolic Fathers were acquainted with the epistle. Clement of Rome* does indeed speak of Noah as a preacher of repentance, and of the exemption of Lot from the punishment that fell on Sodom and Gomorrah; but in Josephus, the Mishna, and the Sibylline books,† Noah is also spoken of in similar terms, and the language used by Clement regarding the cities of the plain does not resemble that which we find in this epistle. Dr. Abbott and others lay great stress on

* *Ep. ad Cor.* vii.; ii. † Holtzmann, p. 500.

Clement's use of the expression μεγαλοπρεπὴς δόξα (ix.; cf. 2 Pet. i. 17), but it must be owned that the force of this coincidence is somewhat deadened by the occurrence of μεγαλοπρεπεῖ βουλήσει previously in the same paragraph, and by the fact that the expression is used in quite a different connection. Echoes of the epistle may be heard in Theophilus (*ad Autol.*, ii. 9; ii. 13), but these also must be admitted to be somewhat doubtful. Clement of Alexandria, towards the close of the second century, is said * to have commented on all the canonical Scriptures, not excepting the disputed books. But the context makes it doubtful whether by the "disputed books" he did not mean the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter. So that it is not until we reach the time of Origen that we find the epistle certainly mentioned and freely used, while even yet, and to the time of Eusebius, it was only admitted among the disputed books.

To determine the authenticity of this epistle we are therefore thrown almost entirely on the internal evidence. The difficulties in fairly estimating this evidence are unquestionably considerable. Against the authenticity of the epistle it may be urged that the writer is over-anxious to identify himself with the Apostle Peter; that the identification bears marks of intention, and thus excites suspicion. The naming of the Mount of Transfiguration "the holy mount" (i. 18), and the mention of Paul's epistles as a whole, and as forming a part of Scripture, are evidences of later date than the life of Peter includes. The style of the second epistle differs considerably from that of

* Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 14.

the first; and the thought also is different, the key-note of the former being hope, that of the latter being knowledge. In the first epistle our Lord is generally spoken of as "Christ" or "Jesus Christ"; in the second He is spoken of with some added title, "the Lord" or "the Saviour." If the first epistle was written shortly before the Apostle's death, the second must have been written very nearly at the same time, and yet, although it is addressed to the same readers, their circumstances seem to have entirely changed; the first epistle being addressed to persons whose danger lay in persecution, the second to those who were exposed to the wiles of heretical teachers. And if they were so closely related by their date, and by the fact of their being sent to the same Churches, it is difficult to understand why the one should have been at once accepted by the Church, while the other was for so long looked upon with suspicion.

Some of these difficulties disappear on the slightest examination. The Mount of Transfiguration is certainly called "the holy hill," but this not as a name, but only as an epithet. And to Peter, who had witnessed the transfiguration, it was more natural than it might have been to another writer to use this epithet, especially as the word "holy" is a favourite of Peter's.

The allusion to scenes in Peter's intercourse with his Lord has nothing suspicious in it. The character of Peter was simple and outspoken, and it was likely that such a man should frankly refer to what he had himself seen and heard. Add to this, that the allusions to our Lord's predictions of his death and to the

Transfiguration are not foisted in, but are naturally suggested by the course of thought in the letter. The first of these allusions especially is much too delicately introduced to allow the idea of forgery. Peter knew that he was to die a violent death, and as now he was an old man this could not be long delayed else nature would claim her due. But his readers did not know this. The Gospel of John was not yet written. And therefore the explanatory clause "as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me" is inserted. This was not a likely idea to occur to a forger, nor is the simplicity of its expression at all like forgery.

The objection taken from the manner in which the epistles of Paul are spoken of is thus stated by Bleek: "The manner in which St. Paul's epistles are spoken of is somewhat strange. They are mentioned collectively, not one only, but all, as writings κατ' ἐξοχήν, not merely known and widely spread in the Church, but as already the topic of various interpretations, on account of the obscurity and difficulty of their contents, so that "the unlearned and unstable . . . as they do also the other Scriptures (τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς). This last expression may either mean the Old Testament Scriptures or other Christian Scriptures, but the term αἱ γραφαί of itself also denotes writings which were considered specially holy, which were esteemed ecclesiastically canonical, and side by side with these (by the word λοιπάς) the Pauline epistles are ranked." There is no doubt that the expression does classify the epistles of Paul with the sacred writings, that is, with the Old Testament Scriptures.

Neither is there any doubt that it was only at a later date than that of Peter's martyrdom that the writings which now form the New Testament were classified, explicitly and as a whole, with the Old Testament. But the Apostles are always named as co-ordinate with the Old Testament Prophets, a like authority is ascribed to them, and it cannot surprise us if Peter should so early have recognised that their writings belonged to the same order as those of the Prophets. Paul did not hesitate to claim authority for his letters (1 Cor. xiv. 37).

Too much has been made of the difference in style between the first and second epistles. The resemblances are much more striking. There is the same Petrine fondness for pictorial words, such as *ῥοιζηδόν*, *μυωπάζων*, *σκηνώμα*, *ἀργεῖ*, *αὐχμηρός*. There is the same duplication of phrase, "exceeding great and precious," "neither barren nor unfruitful," "blind and cannot see afar of," "day dawn and day star arise," "judgment lingereth not and damnation slumbereth not," "spots and blemishes." Characteristic of Peter are also the words *δελεάζω* (ii. 14, 18), the fisherman's word, "to take with bait," and *στήριζον* (cf. Luke xxii. 33) carried out by Peter in i. 12; iii. 16, 17. Many phrases are found to be common to the two epistles, as *ἀρετή* used of God (I. ii. 9; II. i. 3); *ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου* of I. i. 19, and *ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι* of II. iii. 14; *ἐπόπτης* of II. i. 16, and *ἐποπτεύσαντες* of I. ii. 12, and iii. 2; *ἴδιος* in both epistles is commonly used as a possessive pronoun, I. iii. 1; II. ii. 16, 22; iii. 16. In this epistle there are also peculiar words used, which occur in the speeches of

Peter reported in the Book of Acts, and also in the Gospel of Mark.*

Other similarities, especially to the first epistle, abound in 2 Peter. There is the same constant allusion to "fleshly lusts;" the same strenuous exhortation to holiness (2 Pet. i. 10, iii. 11 and 14, σπουδάσατε, cf. 1 Pet. i. 13); the same considerations urged, as, that Christians are purchased with the precious blood of Christ (1 Pet. i. 18, 19, and 2 Pet. ii. 1), that they are "called" to holiness (I. i. 15; II. i. 3), that the *end* is not distant (I. *passim*, II. i. 11, iii. 11, 12); the same individual graces emphasised as φιλαδελφία, only thrice in the New Testament outside these epistles, but found in both of them (I. i. 22; iii. 8; II. i. 7). The word ἅγιος (holy) is, of course, common in all parts of the New Testament, but nowhere so constantly and variously applied as in these two epistles (I. i. *passim*, and in the second chapter, we have the "holy priesthood," "holy nation," and in the third chapter "holy women;" so in 2 Peter we have "the holy mount," "holy men," "holy commandment," "holy prophets," "holy conversation"). In both epistles we meet with a mind that has been exercised about prophecy and the attitude of the prophet to his message (I. i. 10—12; II. i. 19—21). The use of χορηγεῖν and its compound, and also the use of ἔχοντες in describing character, may also be noticed as com-

* These will be found in Dr. Lumby's articles in the *Expositor* for 1876, which contain the fullest and best discussion of the subject.

mon to the two epistles, although not peculiar to them.*

The objection that the one epistle has Hope for its keynote, the other Knowledge, is absolutely without weight. The one epistle was addressed to men who were suffering for the faith, and the presentation of hope was fitting. The other was addressed to Christians exposed to false teaching, and it was fit that knowledge should be more emphasized. But the keynote of both epistles is Holiness. It is the same earnest, practical spirit that breathes through both; not neglecting in the first epistle the importance of knowledge (i. 22; ii. 2; iii. 15; v. 2), nor in the second omitting to urge hope as a motive (i. 11; iii. 11—13).

The object of the epistle is declared in chap. iii. 1—2. It was "stir up the pure minds" of those who received it, that they might remember the commandment of Christ. The same object is also declared in chap. i. 12. The writer desired that the knowledge of the Lord might not prove unfruitful, but might urge the faithful to zeal in adding to their faith all grace which might fit them for entrance into the everlasting kingdom of Christ (i. 1—11). This he is the rather prompted to do because he is sure that false teachers will shortly appear among the Churches to which he writes (ii. 1—3). These teachers would be recognisable by their wicked life, their selfish greed, and especially by their abuse of the doctrine of grace,

* For a complete refutation of Dr. Abbott's criticism of this book the student must be referred to Professor Salmon's brilliant pages, *Introd. to N. T.*, 626—653.

turning liberty into licence (ii., and especially ii. 19). Most solemnly does the writer affirm that if his readers yield to the representations of these teachers, it would be better that they had never known the way of righteousness at all. Against another error, whether taught by the same persons or not, he warns them. Scoffers would come among them, deriding the idea that the day of the Lord was at hand; and pointing to the stability of nature in proof that no change was at hand. This scoff Peter rebuts by referring to the destruction of the world by water, and affirming that the same power which effected that destruction now holds the world "in reserve unto fire." The delay must be measured by the fact that with God a thousand years are as one day, and must be ascribed to God's long-suffering, seeking to give men ampler opportunities of salvation (iii. 8—15).

FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

This epistle was received as apostolic by the early Church. It is referred to by Polycarp, by Papias, and in the Muratorian canon.* Even Davidson, who thinks the internal evidence unfavourable, admits that "the letter is well attested by the voice of antiquity. As far as external evidence reaches, the authenticity seems to be secure."† The internal evidence might seem, to the unsophisticated reader, to be of the very strongest kind. The epistle at once connects itself in

* For references, see Charteris' *Kirchhofer.*

† *Introd.*, ii. 232.

the mind with the fourth gospel. Not only are individual words and phrases the same* in both writings, but the point of view of the writer, the spirit in which he writes, the ideas that occupy his mind, are identical. Notwithstanding the similarities which link the gospel and the epistle together, it is believed by some critics that there are differences so great as to outweigh these resemblances. Davidson finds as many as ten differences between the gospel and the epistle. Of these the chief are: (1) the eschatological. In the epistle the coming of Christ is spoken of as in the Pauline epistles. "Of such eschatology the evangelist knows nothing; for instead of a visible coming, he speaks of a spiritual reappearance. Christ's second advent is resolved into the Spirit's mission to the disciples." The evangelist knows and speaks, not only of a spiritual reappearance but of a personal and visible "coming" in xiv. 3 and xxi. 22. (2) "The doctrine of a *paraclete* distinct from Christ is wanting in the epistle. Indeed, the Spirit is never called the paraclete in it. Christ Himself is so termed (ii. 1)." But this objection is superficial, resting on the mere word "paraclete," and not on the idea conveyed by it. In the epistle it is not used in the same sense as in the gospel, and is applied to Christ in a sense which does not interfere with or contradict its application to the Spirit.

The only objection which stirs the mind to any

* For lists see Davidson or Westcott. "To be of the truth," "of the world," "of God," "to walk in darkness," "to overcome the world," are some of the characteristic expressions. Also compare 1 Ep. ii. 11, with Gospel xii. 35; iii. 13 with xv 18; iii. 14 with v. 24; iv. 6 with viii. 47, etc.

serious enquiry is that which proceeds upon the finding that the epistle deals with post-apostolic heresy. It was maintained by Bretschneider, and has been maintained by many since, that the form of Gnosticism which the writer is confronted with and combats did not make its appearance till after the close of the first century. Gnosticism, as its name implies, preached a salvation by knowledge, and thus proved itself to be an immoral system. That one form or other of Gnosticism was aimed at by the writer of this epistle is apparent from the warnings which occur throughout it against being satisfied with knowledge or profession or anything short of actual righteousness (cf. ii. 4; i. 6; i. 8; iii. 7). The epistle is an earnest remonstrance against profession without practice, knowledge without character. It is a powerful appeal to Christians to strive after the full moral results of fellowship with Christ and with God.

But evidently those to whom the epistle was addressed were in danger not only of being seduced to carelessness of life, but also of being misled regarding the person of Christ, "Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?" "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God." "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." Now Cerinthus, who lived in Ephesus while John was also there, and whose name is associated with John's in tradition, taught that the Christ, the Divine element in the Person, was imparted to Jesus at His baptism and retired from Him before His passion. And it would appear that

it was this form of heretical teaching which the writer of the epistle had especially in view. He wished to reprobate the view that the Christ and Jesus were two separate persons. It is very likely also that in v. 6, when he states that Jesus Christ came "not by water only but by water and blood," he alludes to the opinion that the Christ came upon Jesus in the water of baptism, but was not present in the blood of the crucifixion; and accordingly Mansel paraphrases the words, "Christ was not merely joined to Jesus at His baptism, to leave Him before His crucifixion. It is one and the same Jesus Christ, who manifested Himself by water in baptism and by blood on the cross." *

The object of the epistle is explicitly enounced by the writer himself in i. 4, "These things write we unto you that your joy may be full"; and in v. 13, "These things have I written . . . that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God." With similar explicitness the object of John's gospel is enounced (xx. 31), "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name." The gospel was written to present to men a worthy object of faith, to present the expected Saviour, the Revealer of the unseen God; the epistle is written to explain more fully what belief in Jesus implies and to confirm that belief. The course of thought in the epistle is not easily traced. It would seem as if the thought of one verse suggested the next, rather than as if there were a plan

* Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, 77.

previously conceived for the epistle as a whole. Still it is apparent that in the first part of the epistle John dwells on the idea that God is Light and on the consequences of this in those who have fellowship with God, while in the latter part of the epistle it is the idea of God as Love that forms the centre of his thought. The course of thought from i. 5 to ii. 11 obviously carries the idea that God is Light into some of its applications to professed believers, and though not so obviously, yet certainly, this same idea of God being Light and Truth is pursued as far as ii. 27. From this point to iii. 10 it is God's righteousness and our conformity to it that is the guiding thought; after iii. 10 God as Love is brought more prominently into view. But all three ideas run into one another, and the ideas proper to one section re-appear in the other sections, because God's light or truth, His righteousness and His love are so closely related as to be inseparable.

The epistle was probably addressed to the Church of Ephesus and the neighbouring Churches. Augustine or his pupil and biographer Possidius calls it "the Epistle of John to the Parthians" (ad Parthos), and the same title is found in other Latin writers and MSS. Gieseler conjectured that this arose from some Latin writer finding the letter designated as "the Epistle of John the Virgin" (*τοῦ παρθένου*), which he misunderstood as "the Epistle of John to the Parthians" (*πρὸς πάρθους*).* Certainly John was commonly known as the Virgin in the early Church.

* See Plummer's full and instructive Introduction in his *Epistles of St. John* in the Cambridge Greek Testament.

SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

Eusebius * classes these two epistles with the antilegomena or disputed books; and indicates that though they were well known there was a question whether they were written by the evangelist or some other person of the same name. He himself, however, uses them as if he believed them to be from the hand of the Apostle.† Origen also mentions that there was not universal agreement regarding their authorship. They were not included in the Peshito version and the testimony of the Muratorian Canon is doubtful, though it appears to be in favour of their acceptance. Irenæus quotes the second epistle as John's. Clement of Alexandria quotes ‡ from the first epistle under the designation "the greater epistle," showing that it was not the only one he received as Johannine. The brevity and unimportant nature of the epistles would naturally retard their acceptance into the Canon. If the third epistle was to be received, why might not every "letter of commendation" or certificate of Church membership which happened to bear an apostle's signature, be received? And this same brevity and absence of special teaching puts the idea of forgery out of the question. Besides, a forger would have named John the Apostle if he wished to gain acceptance for his productions. Indeed the only ground on which the acceptance of letters so

* *H. E.*, iii. 25. † *Dem. Ev.*, iii. 5.
‡ *Strom.*, ii. 15.

private and void of public significance can be accounted for is that they are genuine.*

Neither are positive indications of authorship wholly awanting in these two brief letters. That they are from the same hand is admitted even by Baur.† The writer designates himself by the same title, "the elder," in both; and the formula with which he opens the letter is the same in both, "The elder unto . . . whom I love in the truth." In both letters the same formula for expressing gratification is used, and the same ground for joy is mentioned (2 Ep. 4; 3 Ep. 3, 4). And in both letters the brevity is excused on the ground of a promised visit in almost identical terms (2 Ep. 12; 3 Ep. 13). If therefore the second epistle belongs to the Apostle John, the third also must be ascribed to him. But the second epistle is as strictly connected with the first as with the third. For of its thirteen verses no fewer than eight can be matched with verses of the first epistle,

* Dr. Gloag sums up the argument in favour of the third epistle thus: "It is impossible to assign any adequate motive for forgery. It contains no statement of doctrine; it does not, like the second epistle, refer to any heresy; it does not even insist on any definite line of conduct; it purports to be a private letter of the Apostle John to a certain Gaius otherwise unknown, called forth by a mere transitory circumstance. Besides . . . had this third epistle been the work of a forger who personated the Apostle, the writer would not have designated himself by the simple and ambiguous title "the elder," but would have called himself John the Apostle, to give weight and authority to the epistle. But the strongest argument in favour of this epistle arises from the resemblance between it and the second epistle, a resemblance so close that both must stand or fall together.

† Holtzmann (*Einleitung*, 467) calls them "Twin-sisters."

and so far as there is teaching in it, that teaching resembles the first epistle. The differences* in expression cannot be said to countervail these resemblances.

But while critics like Bleek think the internal evidence overwhelmingly in favour of the Johannine authorship, others maintain that they belong to the second century. Baur ascribes them to a Montanist, and believes that they are addressed to Rome, the bishop of which Church is alluded to under the name of Diotrephes. This opinion is too baseless to find any support. Hilgenfeld supposes the second epistle to be an official document uttering the apostolic judgment of excommunication against the Gnostics; while the third is a letter of recommendation in which the metropolitan Church of Asia seeks to vindicate its right to utter such documents, and to have them attended to.

Why these letters, which would seem to be from the hand of the Apostle John, do not bear his name, it is hard to say. Some have laid such stress on the title "the elder," under which the writer appears, as to maintain that they cannot proceed from one who might have used the greater title of Apostle. This was felt as early as Jerome, who says: "John wrote one epistle, which is accepted by all ecclesiastics and scholars; but the other two, beginning with 'the elder,' are said to have been written by John the

* These differences are εἴ τις instead of ἐάν τις; εἰς οἰκίαν for εἰς τὰ ἴδια; κοινωνεῖν for κοινωνίαν ἔχειν; and one or two peculiarities as πιστὸν ποιεῖν, φλυαρεῖν, θεὸν ἔχειν. See Holtzmann, 468.

Presbyter, whose sepulchre is at this day shown in Ephesus." This opinion has been held by Erasmus, Grotius, Bretschneider, Reuss, and others; and is strengthened by the fact that the writer speaks of his authority having been disowned by Diotrephes, which, it is supposed, could not have occurred had the writer been the Apostle John. But the existence of this presbyter John is problematical. An expression used by Papias is the only ground for supposing that such a person existed, and when that expression is looked into, it becomes doubtful whether he was not referring to the Apostle.* It is also to be considered that towards the close of the first century "Apostle" had become a very common designation, and was applied to such persons as are mentioned in the third epistle, and who were sent out on various missions by the Churches. If John occupied in Ephesus the office of a presbyter, as doubtless he did, the difficulty consists in understanding, not why he should have preferred the title "Presbyter" to that of "Apostle," but why without naming himself or describing the Church to which he belonged, he should have designated himself in this absolute way as "the presbyter." Perhaps it is wisest to say with Dr. Westcott, that "far too little is known of the condition of the Churches of Asia Minor at the close of the apostolic age to allow any certain conclusion to be formed as to the sense in which he may have so

* So good a patristic scholar as Dr. Salmon says: "We frankly own that, if it were not for deference to better judges, we should unite with Keim in relegating, though in a different way, this Döppelganger of the Apostle to the region of ghost-land."

styled himself."* At the same time it is to be observed that Papias applied the distinctive title, "the presbyters," to those who had been disciples of the Lord, using the title not as a designation of office, but as descriptive of those who belonged to a past generation.† If this usage had become popular in the Churches of Asia Minor, then it is intelligible that John as the sole survivor among them of the original eye-witnesses of Christ, should be named by pre-eminence "the presbyter."

The second epistle is addressed to "the elect lady and her children," ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς; but who is meant, whether an individual matron or a Church, is much debated.‡ Some have supposed that a lady of the name of Electa is intended,§ but this is untenable in the face of the salutation (ver. 13) sent from a sister of the same name. Others || have thought that the letter is sent "to the elect Kyria," but this is grammatically untenable.¶ Besides, the tenor of the letter agrees better with the idea that it was addressed to a Church than to an individual. A private household would scarcely have received the

* *Epistles of St. John*, p. lv.

† The words of Papias referred to are to be found in Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 39, and are, "If I met with any one who had been a follower of the presbyters, I used to ask what the presbyter said, what Andrew, Peter, or Philip said," etc.

‡ Westcott thinks the key is lost, and that no proposed nterpretation is satisfactory.

§ Grotius, etc.

|| Pseudo-Athanasius, Bengel, Lücke, Bleek, De Wette.

¶ Lücke thinks it not unlikely John may have written ungrammatically here.

instructions of ver. 10; and had these instructions been given to the mistress of a household, she would have been advised not to receive the heretic into her house (*εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*). The use of the plural in these passages, and the easy transition from singular to plural in ver. 5, seem decisive against supposing that an individual is meant. The "elect lady" then must be a Christian Church (comp. 1 Pet. v. 13: *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ*), and probably is called "lady" (*κυρία*) as the bride of Christ (Eph. v. 32).* And if so, then the "children" are the members of the Church; † and this makes it intelligible that the writer should speak (ver. 4) of *some* of these children as walking in truth. The particular Church intended it is impossible to ascertain, although conjectures have been freely ventured.

Apparently John had visited this Church some time previously (vers. 4, 8), although Weiss denies this inference. At any rate, either by personal observation or by trustworthy report, he had ascertained that a proportion of its members were adhering to the truth and living in its light. These he wishes to confirm, and to warn against departure from the original and fundamental teaching of Christ (vers. 5, 6). This he does, because false teachers were going about, who did not confess "Christ coming in flesh," that is to say, who denied the proper humanity

* The opinion of Clement of Alex. is worth giving in his own words: "Secunda Johannis Epistola . . . scripta est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine, significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ" (*Op.*, Migne's ed. ii. 1470).

† This opinion is maintained by Hammond, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and many others.

of Christ, teaching some form of docetism. With such teachers there was to be no intercourse (ver. 10). The doctrine they taught might seem innocent, and an advance to higher knowledge, but it was not so. "Every one who advances (πᾶς ὁ προάγων, Westcott and Hort) and does not abide in the doctrine of Christ hath not God."

The third epistle is addressed to Gaius. This was a very common name. In the New Testament persons so called appear in Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14 (possibly the same); Acts xix. 29; xx. 4. Another is mentioned in early Church history (*Const. Ap.*, vii. 46) as having been made bishop of Pergamum by the Apostle John. But it is uncertain whether this is the person here addressed. From the letter itself it appears that some Christians who had recently arrived in Ephesus from some neighbouring town, had spoken in terms of high commendation of the hospitality of Gaius, evidently a person of influence and means in the Church they had been visiting. John writes this letter to express his satisfaction at this tidings, and to beg that the kind offices of Gaius may be continued, as these Christian brethren were again setting out to evangelise, and habitually acted on the principle of receiving no pecuniary remuneration or assistance from those to whom they carried the gospel. He would naturally have sent this letter to the Church, but a former application of the same kind which he had made to the Church (ver. 9) had been intercepted by Diotrephes, and its appeal not only refused with contempt, but threats of excommunication uttered against those how proposed to listen to it. Ewald, Weiss, and

others, think that the letter referred to is the second epistle, but that letter is a warning against showing hospitality to the wrong men, not an invitation to entertain courteously the right men. The letter gives a glimpse of the Christian Church in the closing years of the first century. The Church was a new field for influence both through teaching and through means. Ambitious men pushed to the front; speculative men inculcated error; good Christians went from place to place evangelising with no certain livelihood. The state of things disclosed in these epistles may profitably be compared with the instructions in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*

EPISTLE OF JUDE.

In comparing the Epistle of Jude with that of James, and in accounting for the limited circulation of these two Palestinian letters, Professor Salmon remarks that "what is really surprising is, that of these two, it is the letter of the less celebrated man which seems to have been the better known, and to have obtained the wider circulation. The external testimony to the Epistle of James is comparatively weak, and it is only the excellence of the internal evidence which removes all hesitation. Now the case is just the reverse with regard to Jude's epistle. There is very little in the letter itself to enable us to pronounce a confident opinion as to the date of composition; but it is recognised by writers who are silent with respect to the epistle of James." * It is appa-

* *Introd.*, p. 593.

rently included in the Muratorian canon.* Clement of Alexandria, in both of his great works,† quotes the epistle under the name of Jude. Tertullian and Origen also use it freely. It is, however, absent from the Peshitσ version.‡ Eusebius,§ in giving some account of James, concludes with this statement regarding his epistle and Jude's: "Not many, indeed, of the ancients have mentioned it, nor even that called the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven called Catholic Epistles. Nevertheless, we know that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the Churches."

Turning to the epistle itself we find that it purports to be by "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." This is generally and justly considered to be an indication that not the Apostle Jude, but Jude the Lord's brother (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) was the author. As Davidson (ii. 264) remarks: "Why should he call himself brother of another person, if he possessed independent authority and apostleship?" That he should designate himself "brother of James," and not "brother of the Lord" is also natural; because the saying of Jesus in which the spiritual relationship was shown to take precedence of the physical (Mark

* The words are "Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti Johannis duas in Catholica habentur," which may best be rendered, "The Epistle of Jude and the two inscribed with the name of John are accepted in the Catholic (Church) [or, among the Catholic Epistles]."

† *Pæd.*, iii. 8; *Strom.*, iii. 2.

‡ A fact which Canon Venables (Smith's *Dict.*, Art. *Ep. of Jude*) cites as decisive that it was not written by the Apostle Jude, who was the traditional evangelist of Edessa.

§ *H. E.*, ii. 23.

iii. 31—35), was now understood, and also because James was so well known in the Christian Church that to be his brother was a sufficient identification.*

The chief difficulty which has prevented the epistle from being universally accepted as authentic is that the immoral perversions of Christian truth against which it is aimed are supposed to belong to a later date than that which is covered by the life of Jude. There is reason to believe that Jude was dead before Domitian acceded to the imperial throne in A.D. 81. And it is supposed that it was not till some time after this date any such teaching as is alluded to in the epistle was known. Thus Davidson (ii. 269) says:— "The description of the men who had crept in among the readers suits antinomian Gnostics only. Now Gnosticism proper did not exist in the first century." Similarly Hilgenfeld† says: "The heretical teachers here attacked are manifestly Gnostics of the second century with their contemptuous repudiation of God and the angels of the Old Testament (ver. 8—10), of Jesus as the merely human organ of the higher Christ (ver. 4), and of the inferior psychical people (ver. 19), and with their Gnostic libertine tendencies (vers. 8, 10, 16). . . . Its composition by Jude, whether the Lord's brother or one of the twelve, is out of the question." To this it may be added that Clement of Alexandria believed that Jude spoke prophetically of the errors of Carpocrates.

The question is whether the language of the epistle implies a fully developed Gnostic antinomianism or is more easily understood of an undeveloped, embryonic

* Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 19, 20. † *Einleitung*, p. 744.

heresy. And undoubtedly the epistle does speak of a manifestation that was new and had as yet gained no great currency. The teachers, if they were teachers and not merely ordinary members, had "crept in," and they might yet be saved from the immoral position they held (vers. 22, 23). Their teaching too was similar to that perversion of the doctrines of grace against which Paul had constantly to warn his readers (Rom. vi.; Gal. v. 13). It is very doubtful whether Gnosticism is intended at all. The teachers are characterised as denying our only Master (δεσπότην) and our Lord Jesus Christ; they "despise dominion" and "speak evil of dignities" (δόξας). That is to say, they threw off all rule, and did so in order that they might unrestrainedly follow their lusts. In the words of Peter they "walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government" (κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας, 2 Pet. ii. 10). The only lordship or government recognised by the Christian, these godless men repudiated, becoming a law to themselves. But there is no hint of the doctrinal basis of this immoral revolt, further than what is suggested by the words "turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness." In fact it is impossible to suppose that an epistle which contains so little explicit allusion to the false doctrines of Gnosticism should have been written after the apostolic age and at a time when these doctrines were well known and prevalent.

It is further affirmed that the 17th verse, which alludes to the "words which were *spoken before* of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ," betrays that the writer belongs to a post-apostolic age. The words

prove the very opposite. The writer addresses persons who had been themselves addressed by word or by letter by the apostles, and are now requested to remember what they had thus learned.

Jerome apparently considered that the main obstacle to the reception of this epistle was its quotation of apocryphal literature. "Jude," he says,* "the brother of James, has left us a short epistle, which is one of the seven so-called Catholic Epistles. But because of a quotation from the Book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by many." The quotation alluded to is introduced (ver. 14) with a formula which does not necessitate its derivation from a book; but as there did exist a "Book of Enoch" previous to the date of this epistle, it is reasonable to suppose that it was used by Jude.† This apocryphal book lay buried for many centuries, and was supposed to be irrecoverably lost, but in 1773, Bruce, the traveller, brought from Abyssinia three copies of the book in Ethiopic. In 1821 Laurence published an English translation, and in 1853 Dillmann re-edited the book and translated it into German. The passage in Jude is found in it, with such variations as might be expected after a double translation. It runs thus: "Behold, He, cometh with myriads of His holy ones, to pass judgment on them, and will destroy the ungodly, and reckon with all flesh for everything which the sinners and ungodly have done and committed against Him." That Jude should thus have made use of an apocryphal book no more requires explanation than Paul's similar allusions in 2 Tim. iii. 8, to Jannes and Jambres, or

* *Catalog.*, S.E., iv. † Few critics deny this.

his citation of the heathen poets Epimenides, Aratus, and Menander.*

It would appear that Jude's employment of apocryphal literature was not confined to the Book of Enoch. Origen† tells us that the reference to the contest between Michael and the devil about the body of Moses is derived from the *Assumption of Moses*. Unfortunately only a small portion of this book is extant, so that we have not the means of judging for ourselves. In these circumstances we may accept the testimony of Origen, who was likely to be well informed on such a point.

The indebtedness of Jude to already existing writings does not end here. No one can read his epistle without being at once reminded of the second Epistle of Peter. It is, in fact, in almost its entire contents, identical with, or closely analogous to, that epistle. For convenience of comparison the parallel passages may be thus presented:—

"But there arose false prophets also among the people, as among you also there shall be false teachers, who shall privily bring in destructive heresies, denying even the Master that bought them" (2 Pet. ii. 1).	"For there are certain men crept in privily, even they who were of old set forth unto this condemnation, ungodly men, denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (Jude 4).
"For if God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to hell, and committed them to pits [or	"And angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting

* See Gloag's *Catholic Epistles*, 406.

† *De Princip.*, iii. 2.

chains] of darkness to be reserved unto judgment" (2 Pet. ii. 4).

"And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, having made them an example unto those that should live ungodly" (2 Pet. ii. 6).

"But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of defilement, and despise dominion. Daring, self-willed, they tremble not to rail at dignities" (2 Peter ii. 10).

"Whereas angels, though greater in might and power, bring not a railing judgment against them before the Lord" (2 Pet. ii. 11).

"But these, as creatures without reason, born mere animals, railing in matters whereof they are ignorant, shall in their destroying surely be destroyed" (2 Pet. ii. 12).

"Spots and blemishes, revelling in their love-feasts while they feast with you" (2 Pet. ii. 13).

"Forsaking the right way, they went astray, having followed the way of Balaam the son of Beor, who loved the hire of wrong-doing" (2 Pet. ii. 15).

bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6).

"Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them are set forth as an example, suffering the punishment of eternal fire" (Jude 7).

"Yet in like manner these also in their dreamings defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities" (Jude 8).

"But Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgment" (Jude 9).

"But these rail at whatsoever things they know not: and what they understand naturally, like the creatures without reason, in these things are they destroyed" (Jude 10).

"These are they who are spots in your love-feasts when they feast with you" (Jude 12).

"They went in the way of Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire, and perished in the gainsaying of Korah" (Jude 11).

"These are springs without water, and mists driven by a storm; for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved" (2 Pet. ii. 17).	"Clouds without water, carried about by winds wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever" (Jude 12, 13).
"Uttering great swelling words of vanity" (2 Pet. ii. 18).	"Their mouth speaking great swelling words" (Jude 16).
"That ye should remember the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your [ὑμῶν] apostles" (2 Pet. iii. 2).	"But ye, beloved, remember the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Jude 17).
"Knowing this first, that in the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts" (2 Pet. iii. 3).	"How that they said unto you, In the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts" (Jude 18).*

How are these marked resemblances to be accounted for? Apparently the two writers must either have had access to a common document; or the one must have copied the other. The hypothesis of a common document does not explain the references to the Apostles of the Lord (2 Peter iii. 2; Jude 17), and is generally abandoned. Great difference of opinion exists as to the relative priority of Peter or Jude; but certainly the balance of criticism is in favour of the originality of the latter. To this conclusion, however, there are one or two serious objections. In the first place the seventeenth and eighteenth verses of Jude

* I have taken these parallels from Gloag's *Cath. Ep.*, p. 238-9.

do certainly look like a direct reference to 2 Peter iii. 1—3. In 2 Peter the words, "there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts," are not introduced as a quotation, but as the writer's own statement. In Jude the same words are introduced as a statement of what the Apostles had told the people now addressed. In Peter the appearance of these scoffers is regarded as future; in Jude they have appeared. It would seem therefore as if the Epistle of Jude were later than 2 Peter, and also alluded to it. But a still stronger objection to the priority of Jude may be found in the superiority of his style. It is difficult to believe that if Peter had before him the clear and vivid phrases of Jude he could have so obscured them in the copying, as he certainly has done if he did copy them. As an example of this, is it possible to suppose that with Jude's "wandering stars, to whom is reserved the mist of darkness for ever," Peter should have omitted the significant words, "wandering stars," and given us only the clause, "to whom is reserved the mist of darkness for ever?" This applies to the entire parallel. In each statement the language of Jude is lucid and apt, while Peter's, though made up of the same words, is harsh and difficult. It is more reasonable to suppose that Jude re-wrote and improved what he found in Peter, than that Peter, having clear and powerful expressions before him in the Epistle of Jude, should retain just so much of his language as would show that he was borrowing and yet have left uncopied the most significant words. If Peter borrowed he blundered in borrowing; if Jude borrowed he did it skilfully.

Besides, the section in 2 Peter, which resembles Jude, is embedded in the epistle as an integral part of it. It is not connected with what goes before, and with what follows, by artificial and discernible dovetailing, but grows out of the previous section and runs naturally on into what follows.

Probably the epistle was written about the year 67, and for Palestinian readers, though this is very uncertain.

REVELATION.

THE Greek title of this book, ἀποκάλυψις, connects it with the branch of Jewish and early Christian literature known as Apocalyptic. Both in time and in character this literature was differentiated from the Prophetic. It arose after the cessation of Old Testament prophecy, and under the stress of foreign oppression. At each critical period of their country's history, and when the people were becoming hopeless, the Apocalyptists sought to revive their courage by assuring them of the speedy approach of the Messiah, and His overthrow of all their oppressions. The end was at hand; its signs were already visible. Apocalyptic literature was essentially eschatological. It also bore direct reference to the existing circumstances of God's people; and as these circumstances, the oppressors and deliverance of Israel, could not be alluded to explicitly and by name, they were compelled to use a system of symbols which renders their writings obscure and sometimes repulsive to a modern reader. The prophets speaking of hostile nations, or of remote times, or of the sins of the people, had no occasion to veil their meaning. The more explicit and direct they could be the better. They might also address the people and use the

influence they had acquired as well-known servants and commissioners of God. The Apocalyptists, on the other hand, were obliged to write and to represent their views under a series of visions. They were in fact literary artists, while the prophets were orators and statesmen. And having no authority of their own, the Apocalyptists frequently borrowed the authority of a great name, and issued their writings under the name of Enoch, Noah, Moses, Isaiah, or Ezra. The earliest extant Apocalypse appears under the name of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of John, though belonging to this branch of literature and betraying its characteristics, is so unique in form, contents and spirit, as to justify its separation as canonical from the non-canonical apocalypses.*

The key-note of the book, then, is sounded at once. It is of things "which must shortly come to pass," the writer is to speak (i. 1), and these things centre in the second coming of Christ. He is best named as that One "which is, and which was, *and which is to come*" (i. 4).

It is the same determining and welcome event which is in view throughout, so that the last word of the Book is, "He that testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (xxii. 20). But as the coming of the Lord is not an event arbitrarily fixed, but prepared for and necessitated by the condition of the world, the first care of the Apocalyptist is to exhibit the condition of the Church, and to stir it to the requisite efforts and

* See *Encyc. Brit.*, art. Apocalyptic Literature; and Holtzmann, p. 398.

expectation. This he does in the letters to the seven Churches of Asia Minor, which represent the Church Catholic (ii. 1—iii. 22),* the number seven, here as elsewhere, indicating totality. Then follows the first vision, in which a sealed book,† the unknown destiny of men, is seen i the hand of Him that sitteth on the throne. That book could be opened by none but the Lamb of God, to whom therefore it is given (iv. 5). As the first six seals are opened in order, there go forth, a conqueror on a white horse (the gospel), war, famine, pestilence, earthquake; an order determined by the words of the Lord in Matt. xxiv. 7: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places." But interpolated into this order is the fifth seal, which announces the great persecution of Christ's people (chap. vi.), and appended to it is an elaborate description of the sealing of those who are carried victorious through all these calamities (vii. 1—17). The opening of the seventh seal introduces the seven trumpets, and as these are blown various woes appear destroying earth, sea, and sky, and causing men to long for death; but no repentance followed these plagues (viii. 2—ix. 20). But just as,

* On the order of these letters, see Godet, *N. T. Studies*, 303.

† "The *seal* is the emblem of an event still hidden, but divinely decreed. The *trumpet* is something more than the mere revelation of an event that is to happen in the future; it is a manifestation of will which calls for a speedy realisation. Lastly, a *vial* poured out is the image of a decree as identified with its execution."—*Godet*, p. 305. "The seals answer to the first miracles of Moses before Pharaoh, the trumpets to the ten plagues, and the vials to the catastrophe of the Red Sea."

prior to the opening of the seventh seal, a pause had been made and matters of a consolatory kind mingled with the judgments, so prior to the blast of the seventh trumpet an angel appears with a little book in his hand, which John is required to eat, that he may fully assimilate its contents (x. 1—11). Then appears an angel measuring the temple court, and the two witnesses prophesy, are killed by the beast, and rise to life again, and ascend to heaven. This is supposed to describe the conversion of the Jews. The seventh trumpet then sounds, announcing that all nations have become Christian. But this does not terminate the visions. Wonders are now seen in heaven; opposition is still made to God and His purposes, the dragon seeks to devour the woman, and the wild beasts from land and sea tyrannise over men (xii.—xiii.). At length the plagues are poured forth from the seven vials of the seven angels (xv. 1—xvi. 21), and special attention is called to the judgment of Babylon (xvii.—xviii.), after which the Word of God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, appears seated on a white horse, and the enemies of Christ, the beast and the false prophet, are cast into the lake of fire (xix.). Satan is then bound for a thousand years, and when loosed gathers Gog and Magog to do battle with the saints, but is cast finally into the lake of fire. Then arrives the final judgment (xx. 11—15), and the new heavens and earth and their glories are described (xxi.—xxii.)

The contents of the book are thus conveniently summarised by Farrar. "After the prologue, which occupies the first eight verses, there follow seven sections:—

1. The letters to the Seven Churches of Asia (i. 9—iii. 22).
2. The Seven Seals (iv.—vii.).
3. The Seven Trumpets (viii.—xi.).
4. The Seven Mystic Figures—the Sun-clothed Woman; the Red Dragon; the Man-child; the Wild Beast from the Sea; the Wild Beast from the Land; the Lamb on Mount Zion; the Son of Man on the Cloud (xii.—xiv.).
5. The Seven Vials (xv.—xvi.).
6. The Doom of the Foes of Christ (xvii.—xx.).
7. The Blessed Consummation (xxi.—xxii. 7). The Epilogue (xxii. 8—21)."

The design and interpretation of the book have given rise to endless conjectures. The tendency of modern criticism may be gathered from the following statement of Harnack *: "That the beast (xiii. 1 sq.; xvii. 3, sq.) is the Roman Empire; that the seven heads are seven emperors; that the woman (xvii. 3—9) is the city of Rome, that the ten horns (xiii. 1—xvii. 3—12, sq.) are imperial governors; all this is now beyond dispute. Also it is settled that a Roman governor will be the Antichrist." But difference of opinion exists as to the particular emperor pointed to by the writer. The idea that the book is intended to depict the circumstances of the age which called it forth is certainly in accordance with the character of Apocalyptic literature in general. Those systems of interpretation which find in it a sketch of the history of

* *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Revelation."

Christ's people and cause from the first to the present century, and beyond it, are discountenanced by the many expressions pointing to immediate fulfilment which occur in the book (cf. i. 1, 19; iv. 1; xxii. 7, 10), and find it more difficult to assign a definite aim to the writer. A very general opinion, therefore, is that the book was written between the death of Nero (June, 68) and the destruction of Jerusalem (September, 70). It is maintained that if we accept this date the visions can be accounted for by what was actually happening. War (Parthian), earthquake (Phrygian), and pestilence (see Tacitus, *Ann.*, xvi. 13), had actually alarmed the nations in recent years. The slaughter of Christians by Nero in 64 had impressed the Church. The occupation of Jerusalem by the heathen was pretty well assured at the date supposed. Besides, it is argued, that the writer definitely dates his book when he says (xvii. 10), "There are seven kings, five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come." This, it is alleged, can only mean that Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, had fallen, and that the sixth Roman emperor Galba was now reigning. It is also pointed out that in chap. xiii. 3 one of the heads of the beast is represented as having received a deadly wound, but as recovering from it to the astonishment of the world, which it is supposed can only refer to Nero, who had killed himself, but was popularly believed to be hiding in the East, whence he was to return. And the further description of this head in chap. xvii. 8, 11, where it is identified with the whole beast, seems to confirm the idea that Nero is meant, for here it is said that "the beast was, and is

not, and will come again." * This opinion further claims, as indubitable evidence of its accuracy, what is said in chap. xiii. 18, regarding the "number" of the beast. This number is said to be 666, that is to say, the letters which compose his name, when added together according to their numerical value,† gives this total. In 1835 it was simultaneously discovered by Fritzsche, Benary, Reuss, and Hitzig, that the numerical values of the letters forming the words קסר נרון, Neron Cæsar, equal 666.

To these arguments it is objected that it is not legitimate to calculate the value in Hebrew letters, the book itself being written in Greek; that even to reach the value claimed, the ordinary spelling of Nero's name is departed from; and that many other names satisfy the cryptogram quite as readily.

But a much more formidable objection arises when we seek to interpret the book in the light of the idea that Nero, about to return, is indicated as Antichrist. Who, for example, is the false prophet, who works miracles and persuades the world to worship the beast? How can the beast be said to hate Rome and to destroy her (xvii. 16)? ‡ In

* The passages which speak of this belief about Nero are Suetonius, *Nero*, 57; Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 2, ii. 8 (Simcox' note should be read in his edition of the *Histories*). Suetonius says, "There were some who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and sometimes set robed images of him on the rostra, sometimes issued edicts as if from him, yet living, and shortly to return to the destruction of his enemies."

† The Hebrews and Greeks used the letters of the alphabet, and not special signs, to express numbers.

‡ On the other side see Holtzmann, p. 403.

fact this key does not unlock the book. Moreover, it involves the enormous assumption that a book which had predicted the return of Nero as eighth Emperor, his destruction of Rome, the taking of Jerusalem but preservation of the temple, and which in all these particulars was falsified almost as soon as published, was yet accepted by the Church as inspired and apostolic. It is on all hands granted that if its predictions are to be thus interpreted they certainly were falsified; but it is maintained that while the particnlars were incorrect the general drift of the prophecy was true, and carried the Church through a time of trial by its cheering prospects of ultimate victory. To which Dr. Salmon, with his usual sobriety of judgment, replies: "I feel myself safe in saying that the view is quite modern which regards prophecy as a kind of sacred song, of which the melody only need be attended to, the words to which the air is set being quite unimportant."

Godet and others find in the very name *Antichrist* a clue to its meaning, and hold that Antichrist or a competing and opposing Messiah must of necessity be a Jew. Anti-Christian Judaism may well be described as the beast "that was, and is not, and which shall be"—the head wounded to death which was to be healed to the astonishment of the nations. Godet thinks there is no mistaking that the destruction of Jerusalem is meant by the fatal sword-thrust of xiii. 14. According to this interpretation Israel takes its place as the fifth head of the beast, the first being Egypt, the second Assyria and Babylonia, the third Persia, the fourth Greece, the sixth Rome, and

the seventh the Antichrist who is to make a clean sweep of the Roman power from the earth; and he believes that in our own day the trained ear may catch the sound of the approaching steps of this revived Jewish power.* Godet's scheme is one of the most favourable specimens of those systems of interpretation known as the "continuously historical." It escapes the ignominy which attaches to all schemes which seek detailed fulfilments of particular predictions in the history of the last eighteen centuries, and of the years that are yet to be. It must be confessed, however, that grave difficulties attach to his scheme also.

A still more effectual evasion of the difficulties attaching to any historical interpretation whether Præterist, Futurist, or Continuously Historical, is suggested by Dr. Milligan, who proposes that we should read the book as a representation of ideas rather than events. It embraces, he thinks, the whole period of the Christian dispensation, but within this period it sets before the reader the action of great principles and not special incidents. It is meant to impress the reader with the idea that many waves of judgment, of trial, of victory must pass over the Church before the end comes. The end, indeed, is spoken of as near; but this results from the impression which could not but be received by the early Church, that now that Christ had actually come, the end was virtually present. "The book thus becomes to us not a history of either

* Godet thinks the number 666, or χξς, is composed of the usual abbreviation of the name of Christ, χς with a symbol of the serpent (in form and sound) inserted to convey the idea of Antichrist."—*Biblical Studies*, p. 388.

early, or mediæval, or last events written of before they happened, but a spring of elevating encouragement and holy joy to Christians in every age." It exhibits the Church of Christ in its conflict, preservation, and victory; and it sees these through the forms, and in the colours presented to the writer's imagination by what he himself had seen and experienced, and by his knowledge of the Old Testament, and of our Lord's discourses. It is not a political pamphlet disguised, but a vision of the Church's necessary fortunes as the Body of her Lord, and as His representative on earth. Babylon, therefore, is not pagan Rome, but the apostate Church of all ages, described in a highly elaborated picture, of which the outlines had already been drawn by the prophets. This system of interpretation has its attractions, but is certainly out of keeping with the general purpose of Apocalyptic literature, and fails to present a sufficiently pressing motive for the composition and a sufficiently definite guide through its intricacies.

Whether John, who appears in the book as its author (i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8),* was the Apostle of that name or some less known disciple is much debated. The Church Fathers of the second century ascribed it to the Apostle; and the testimony of Irenæus, who represents the opinion of those who had known the Apostle, is especially weighty. In modern times conservative critics have accepted the traditional view, in which they are confirmed by the very striking resemblance between this book and the fourth gospel,

* The occurrence in xxi. 2 is rejected by the best critics.

both in ideas and in terminology.* The Tübingen school, for reasons of its own, accepts it as the work of the Apostle. Thus both Baur himself and his ablest living representative (Hilgenfeld), while rejecting the fourth gospel, accept the Revelation as Apostolic. Many other critics, however, agreeing with the Tübingen school in their judgment that both books cannot be the work of one author, accept the fourth gospel and reject the Revelation. This they believe to be the work of some one of the same name, possibly the Presbyter John. (So especially Lücke and Bleek). The arguments against the Apostolic authorship are thus given by Harnack: "(1) The so-called Alogi (Epiph., *Hær.*, li.) denied that the work was by the Apostle, and declared that it came from Corinth, and thence was a forgery; but the Alogi were in Asia Minor about 160, and their negative, if not their positive, evidence has therefore great weight; (2) the author of the Apocalypse does not style himself an Apostle, and nowhere does he designate himself as a personal disciple of Jesus, or as an eye-witness; (3) the author speaks (xxi. 14) in such an objective way of the twelve apostles of the Lamb that it is scarcely credible that he himself belonged to them; (4) the descriptions of Christ in the Apocalypse are psychologically scarcely intelligible on the assumption that they were written by a personal disciple of the Lord." But as Harnack does not think the work can possibly be a forgery in the ordinary sense, and

* A complete list of these resemblances is given by Evans, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 118—132.

as he is not disposed to believe in the existence of any John, not the Apostle, who had such consideration among the Churches of Asia Minor as was manifestly enjoyed by the author of Revelation, he is reduced to the unsatisfactory makeshift of supposing that originally no author's name existed in the book, but was afterwards inserted to give it currency.

The integrity of the book has been gravely questioned in recent years. It is difficult to consider with patience theories which propose to allot to different authors various portions of a book than which there is in all literature, none more obviously a carefully designed and artistic whole. Literary criticism must count for nothing if such a book is composed of fragments casually accumulating through successive generations. The most resolute assault upon the integrity of the book is that which has been published by Professor Völter of Amsterdam.* This writer concludes that several strata are discernible: (1) The original Apocalypse of the time of Nero, containing the body of the book. (2) A first revision of the time of Trajan, when were added xii. 1—17, xix. 11, xxi. 8. (3) A second revision, about 130, which added v. 11—14, vii. 9—17, xiii. 1—18, xiv. 9—12, xv. 1—8, xvi. 1—21, xxi. 9—xxii. 5, and much of xxii. (4) A third revision, about 140, when i.—iii. (except i. 4—6) was added, and verses here and there.† But as Professor Davidson shows, the author of this superfine criticism

* *Die Entstehung der Apocalypse* (1882, 2nd Edition, 1885).

‡ See Professor Davidson in *Theological Review*, Feb., 1887.

sets a fool's cap on it by admitting that his various authors exhibit the same characteristics.*

Herr Eberhard Vischer, a pupil of Harnack's, has published a theory that the original Apocalypse was a Jewish book, and that it has been worked over by a Paulinist for use in the Gentile Church. The original he supposes to have been written in Hebrew, and to have been translated by the Christian redactor. The difficulty of chap. xii. is removed by this theory, as the prediction of the birth of the man-child can satisfactorily be referred to the birth of the Messiah, which was still future, if the book was Jewish. On the other hand, it is impossible on this theory to account for the prominence given throughout the book to the figure of the Lamb. Impugners of the integrity of the book must do something more than merely show that it is cast in the ordinary form, and follows the common order of the Jewish Apocalypses.

* Further criticism of this theory will be found in the *Expositor*, June, 1887, and in Dr. Milligan's *The Book of Revelation*

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